

234013

JPRS-NEA-85-086

28 June 1985

# Near East/South Asia Report

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

19980226 152

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A  
Approved for public release;  
Distribution Unlimited

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

2  
142  
A07

## NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

28 June 1985

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

Turkey Skeptical of ASALA Members Ouster From Syria (MARMARA, 11 May 85).....	1
Turks Warned of Possible Attempt in Tokyo on Ozal's Life (MARMARA, 18 May 85).....	3

## ARAB AFRICA

## EGYPT

Current Political, Economic Situation Discussed (Editorial, Muhammad 'Asfur; AL-WAFD, 25 Apr 85).....	4
Improved Varieties of Cotton Developed (Hasan Sallumah; AL-AHRAM, 12 May 85).....	6
Underground Water Resources Studied (AL-AHRAM, 16 May 85).....	7
Anniversary of Return of Sinai to Egypt Noted (Editorial, Mahmud 'Abd-al-Mun'im Murad; AL-AKHBAR, 25 Apr 85).....	9
Slowness in Application of Shari'ah Criticized (Editorial, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Gaddus; AL-WAFD, 2 May 85).	11

Second Cairo Airport Recommended ( 'Abd-al-Jawad 'Ali; AL-AHRAM, 11 May 85).....	12
Briefs	
AL-WAFD Circulation Increases	13
Irrigation Capacity for Rice Production	13
LIBYA	
Briefs	
Statement on Palestinians	14
Congress Secretariat Cables Arab Leader	14
MAURITANIA	
Briefs	
Mauritania, Canada Sign Aid Agreement	15
SUDAN	
Reporting on National Party, Action Charter (AL-AYYAM, 14 May 85).....	16
Biographic Data on Senior Officials Given (AL-SAHAFAH, 25 Apr, 1 May 85).....	18
Foreign Minister Ibrahim Ayyub	18
Labor Minister Albino	18
Interior Minister Muhammad	19
ARAB EAST/ISRAEL	
ISRAEL	
Improved Relations Sought With Asia (Yosi Melman; DAVAR, 11 Apr 85).....	20
Developments in Gaza Municipality Reviewed (Danny Tzidqoni; DAVAR, 7 Apr 85).....	21
Use of Water in Negev's Depths Urged (DAVAR, 16 Apr 85).....	23
New West Bank Arab Newspaper Planned (Danny Tzidqoni; DAVAR, 16 Apr 85).....	25



## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO Officials Comment on Agreement With Jordan (Khalid al-Hasan, Abu-al-'Abbas Interviews; AL-MAWQIF, 20 Apr 85).....	26
---	----

## SYRIA

Premier Tours Al-Raqqah, Al-Hasakah Water Projects (TISHRIN, 25 Mar 85).....	40
Canals, Dams Surveyed	40
Cornerstones Placed	46

## SOUTH ASIA

### AFGHANISTAN

Mujahidin Said To Be Waging 'Full-Scale War' Against Soviets (Taras Kuzio; ARABIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW, May 85).....	50
Close Surveillance Makes Reporting Difficult (Anita Rind; LE MONDE, 27 Apr 85).....	54
Resistance Seen From Inside, Outside (SUD-OUEST, 11, 21 May 85).....	55
Chief Cites 8 Year's Combat; Amine Wardak Interview View From Operating Room	55
Article Examines Steps on Public Health Services (HEYWAD, 30 Mar 85).....	59

### INDIA

Analyst Discusses New Apex Group on Internal Security (G. K. Reddy; THE HINDU, 29 Apr 85).....	70
Punjab Lok Dal President Shot in Chandigarh (THE HINDU, 11 May 85).....	72
Manipur PLA Suffers From Leader's Arrest (Arvind Kumar; THE TELEGRAPH, 16 May 85).....	73
Sabotage Plot Foiled in Jammu, Kashmir (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 17 May 85).....	74

Bombay Called Likely Conduit for Funds to Extremists (Oswald Pereira; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 24 May 85).....	77
Manipur Chief Minister on Extremists' Hit List (THE STATESMAN, 27 May 85).....	79
'Toning Up' of Antiterrorist Machinery Urged (R. K. Mishra; PATRIOT, 13 May 85).....	80
Reportage on Passing, Substance of Antiterrorist Bill (THE HINDU, 19 May 85 THE TIMES OF INDIA, 21 May 85)....	82
Introduction of Bill, by G. K. Reddy	82
Text of Bill	83
Report on Passage	88
Explosive Cache, Other Clues to Bombings Found (PATRIOT, 14 May 85).....	91
Results of Investigation of Delhi Bombings Told (Various sources, various dates).....	93
Over 30 Involved	93
Bombs Bore Alien Mark	94
Terrorist Posed as Inspector	96
Another Mastermind Identified	97
Two More Held	97
Transistor Bomb Suspect Reportedly Had Foreign Links (Pratap Chakravarty; PATRIOT, 26 May 85).....	99
Briefs	
Chain Underground Gun Factories	100
IRAN	
Commerce Minister Expresses Optimism for Growth of Exports (ETTELA'AT, 11 May 85).....	101
Article Calls for Helping Lebanon (SOBH-E AZADEGAN, 4 May 85).....	105
PAKISTAN	
Ban Urged on Import of Used Clothing (Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 22 Apr 85).....	114
Budget for New Fiscal Year Announced (DAWN, 24 May 85).....	115

Sind Minister Comments on Water Crisis (DAWN, 21 May 85).....	120
Geneva Talks: Next Round Viewed (Editorial; DAWN, 5 Jun 85).....	122
Group Formations Surfacing in People's Party (Mohammad Ali; NAWA-I-WAQT, 20 Apr 85).....	124
Party Politics Encouraged (Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 28 Apr 85).....	128
MRD Leaders' Statements Called Contradictory (Editorial; JASARAT, 22 Apr 85).....	130
Plea for End to Sectarianism on Founder's Example (Mohammad Salim; NAWA-I-WAQT, 22 Apr 85).....	133
Call for Government Action on Bribery (Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 22 Apr 85).....	135

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKEY SKEPTICAL OF ASALA MEMBERS OUSTER FROM SYRIA

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 11 May 85 pp 1,4

[Text] In our yesterday's edition, we reproduced a report by MILLIYET correspondent Mehmet Ali Birand from Damascus stating that the Syrian government has closed down all ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] training camps in that country and has banned all the activities of that organization, in particular armed operations against Turkey and Turkish citizens.

Although there are widespread rumors to this effect, Birand reports that so far he has not been able to find any tangible and persuasive evidence to verify the credibility of these rumors. Significantly, Turkish circles have also said that they have only heard rumors and that no one has produced any persuasive evidence nor has anyone seen any official documents on this subject. These circles have stated: "This is also what we wish, and we sincerely hope that these rumors are true. Clearly, some evidence does exist indicating that ASALA members have left Syria, but we have not received any official communication to that effect."

This matter has become a major issue in Damascus because the Syrian authorities are well aware of Turkey's sensitivity on this subject, and it is believed that Damascus is spreading these rumors to appease Turkey. No one knows how sincere it is in its remarks and how much it will actually do to back its words.

Meanwhile, according to information obtained from reliable sources, the Syrian government has issued directives to all organizations that operate from its territory against Israel warning them against any anti-Turkish activities and any hostile operations against Turkey. In view of the fact that Syria can never admit to the presence of such organizations on its territory, it did not wish to make such a directive public. According to the same sources, today Syria's most secure and peaceful border is its northern border with Turkey. Consequently, with all his problems on the Lebanese and Israeli borders, President Hafiz al-Assad would not want to create new problems on the Turkish border.

It was notable that while Armenian communities in various countries and particularly in Western centers staged large demonstrations declaring April 24 as the 70th anniversary of the alleged Armenian genocide, not one commemorative ceremony was held in Damascus. The Syrian press carried in its back pages foreign agency reports simply stating that "the Armenians staged demonstrations in the West."

### What Do Turkish Circles Say?

According to Turkish circles, nothing definite can be said for the moment about the new posture adopted by the Syrian government with regard to Armenian terrorism in view of the fact that everything known so far consists of rumors and nothing has been declared officially. Nevertheless, Turkish officials are monitoring the unfolding of events very carefully hoping sincerely that the said rumors are true. These circles have stated that Syrian authorities have strongly assured them that from now on no anti-Turkish activities will be allowed on Syrian soil. Syrian officials have also pointed out that the arrest of persons carrying Syrian passports does not mean that the persons arrested are really Syrian nationals because there are numerous forged Syrian passports on the market and that, in particular, there are circles who resort to such means to upset relations between the two countries.

According to information gathered by various intelligence agencies, ASALA has moved most of its members to within the Armenian community of Tehran and to a certain extent to Beirut following the withdrawal of Israel. However, although indications exist to that effect there is no evidence that all ASALA members have been moved out of Syrian territory.

### Yakubian's Murder

Recently, Yakubian, a well-known Armenian businessman and one of the richest men in Syria, was murdered under mysterious circumstances in Paris. According to certain rumors, Yakubian was killed by ASALA for not contributing sufficient funds. It is said that ASALA punished him.

Meanwhile, despite these rumors and assurances a certain amount of cautiousness prevails in Ankara with regard to Syrian pledges. While official circles make no secret of the fact that they are pleased with the rumors, they would like to see them proven true with more tangible evidence. A senior Foreign Ministry official stated that certain contacts were held in Damascus two months ago when ministerial advisor Necdet Tezel visited Syria and that since then there has been a marked improvement in relations between the two countries.

The new Syrian attitude is explained in Ankara by the fact that Syria is surrounded by countries which have problems with it and as a result there is a certain amount of uneasiness in Damascus. Consequently, the Syrian government wants to secure its northern border. To do that it wants to end opportunities for all ASALA activities and to bar extremist statements and demonstrations by Armenians so that Turkey is not irritated and new complications do not arise between the two countries.

9588

CSO: 4605/171

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKS WARNED OF POSSIBLE ATTEMPT IN TOKYO ON OZAL'S LIFE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 18 May 85 pp 1,4

[Text] The HURRIYET correspondent reports from Damascus: Interpol, the international police organization, has informed Turkish security agencies that five Armenian terrorists have obtained visas from the Austrian embassy in Damascus to travel indirectly to Japan with the aim of staging an assassination attempt against Prime Minister Turgut Ozal. Interpol has stated that it finds it prudent to caution Turkish authorities in view of the fact that the said Armenians are suspicious individuals and, furthermore, Ozal is expected to arrive in Tokyo today.

According to information obtained from various sources in Damascus, the five Armenians are identified as Nubar Koadis, Zozi Karaoghlanian, Apraham Karkis, Krikor Karakis and Robert Mina. All five have already left Syria and have probably traveled to Japan via an indirect itinerary. All of them carry Lebanese passports and Nubar Koadis is their leader. Interpol has obtained the serial numbers of their passports. The five Armenians also carry other passports. For example, their leader, Nubar Koadis, carries passports with different serial numbers in the names of Norbuba Sofian, Nozbar Sofoyan and Novvar Avis Sopuyan.

According to information obtained from authorities in Damascus, the leader of the said terrorists was born in Lebanon on 12 December 1943 and is 1.75 meters tall. It is believed that the five terrorists have links with the Japanese underground organization known as the "Red Army." Consequently, Interpol, has also alerted Japanese authorities with regard to this matter.

Meanwhile, it is reported that the U.S. congressional resolution regarding the Armenian genocide will be put to a vote in the House of Representatives on Tuesday. According to House regulations, the discussion of the resolution will take 40 minutes, at the end of which the members of the House will be asked if anyone has any objections. If no one objects, the resolution will be put to a vote, and the approval of three-quarters of those present, rather than the full 435 members, will be sufficient to pass the resolution.

EGYPT

CURRENT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC SITUATION DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 25 Apr 85 p 6

[Editorial by Dr Muhammad 'Asfur: "A Precarious Position"]

[Text] I may be wrong in my feelings of insecurity and instability, yet I cannot rid myself of the fear that an unexpected tremor or disturbance may befall our country. Those who ponder our economic conditions are forced to fear that the calm and apparent security we are now enjoying may conceal from us a raging truth or a deluge. For we as a state or a nation and as citizens go about our daily lives as best we can, but we are in a precarious position. The waves of the stormy political and economic sea have gone up and we do not know what kind of trough we will have when they come down.

Let us begin with what I consider the most dangerous problem, that of the foreign debts. I hope the reader will excuse me for espousing this view, due to my extreme sensitivity over the issue of foreign debts, for it was historically and indeed is now a tool of foreign hegemony over Third World countries and of political and economic subjection of those countries. Is the regime that assumed power in July 1952 a responsible one when Egypt used to owe Great Britain 500 million Sterling pounds while now, at the end of 33 years, Egypt owes more than 40 billion, not counting the billions in military debts?

Is it logical for our people to live on loans and have their daily bread controlled by overpowering hands? Is it logical for our rulers not to put our idle human energies to work in public projects instead of being a burden on production and the producers amid manifestations of shameless government spending on official visits, celebrations or transfers and extravagance in preparing envoys and treating guests?

Should the Egyptian people, who number in the millions and are growing by the day, stay as they are, living and multiplying like rabbits and surviving on grants, donations and loans while the wheel of production is standing still and millions are out of work and those working abroad refrain--due to our intelligent monetary policy!--from bringing their savings into Egypt and keep them abroad, even if they themselves are brought back to their country, thus adding their burdens to the already heavy load being carried by Egypt and its budget?

Is it in the country's higher interest that military and internal security spending take up more than 50 percent of the state budget?

Do our rulers imagine that our economic conditions can persist in this fashion? Or is it certain that this false shell of an abnormal life will suddenly and expectedly brake to reveal the reality of the economic slump which we are treating with more debts and imperial grants from the government on special occasions to soothe the pains of high prices the weary working class has to pay, high prices that arise not from one source only--as some imagine--but from many sources and branching roots that spread into the heart of irresolute economic policies ruled from the beginning by political considerations alone and aimed at tightening political control, regardless of the disastrous economic consequences of such policies?

However, movements that are taking place on the stage of the political theatre, although better than the economic jungle, do not inspire confidence. Notwithstanding the firm emphasis on democracy and the continuation of the democratic process, there are many decisions and actions that disturb the climate of freedom. This underscores the fact that everything we are enjoying now is a grant that can be demanded back at any time and not a right, well-protected against a change of heart on the part of the ruler. It cannot be imagined that the people feel safe under a state of emergency declared with no legal or constitutional basis without it being an unsheathed sword that cuts into necks at any time and under any pretense. What is more dangerous than a passing emergency system, destined to extinction, is the formation of a permanent army out of Central Security forces whose training in brutal violence, karate and hostile cries, according to some newspapers, frighten their neighbors. How, for God's sake, can a human system allow the training of beasts to deal with civilians, even if they were illegally assembled?

How can we forget this disease that underlies our political system that we inherited from the revolutionary legitimacy which appoints the head of state as an absolute ruler above all the constitutional establishments? How can we forget how we inherited the regime of President al-Sadat, the dictator--under the constitution--while at the same time he added to his presidency, stipulated by the constitution, the presidency of the ruling political party, thus contradicting the neutrality presumed by the constitution itself in any arbitration between constitutional establishments? Was this partisan characteristic not the source of all the excesses committed by successive governments, be it in the origination of legislation confirming the ruling party's control or in rigging elections?

To be sure, true stability of a democratic system of rule is not something that can be realized under the threat of economic collapse or the threat of employing the actually-declared powers of the emergency law, brutal intervention by a Central Security army or partisan bias in the practices of the government itself in political life and the essential free political struggle among equally strong parties, so that this equality will not be threatened by the chief of state heading one of them when, constitutionally, he is supposed not to belong to the party, but to all the people.



EGYPT

## IMPROVED VARIETIES OF COTTON DEVELOPED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 May 85 p 8

[Article by Hasan Sallumah]

[Text] The Cotton Research Institute has succeeded in growing a long staple cotton with superior qualities that has been named "Jizah 76," and it decided to expand its acreage during the next season. It has been earmarked for export, and deals will be made with foreign spinners concerning it. The institute also succeeded in developing new varieties of cotton that are resistant to the soil salinity in the northern Delta, where salinity is high because of its proximity to the Mediterranean Sea, and that are also resistant to the high temperatures of Upper Egypt. The institute is carrying out experiments to produce varieties of cotton that are between long and medium staple and that are suitable for the thick thread that is used in making popular fabrics in Egypt. The institute is also carrying out other experiments to develop high-yield cotton that matures within a short period of its planting.

That was announced by Dr Yusuf Wali, the minister of agriculture, following his meeting with Dr 'Abd-al-Rahim Shahatah, director of the Cotton Research Institute, Dr Samir Mustafa, director of the Research Institute, and Dr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahim, deputy director of the Institute. During the meeting, they discussed the results of implementing the national program to promote cotton yield and new cottons. The minister stated that last season's yield had not been able to meet the needs of the local spinning mills and textile factories, and put aside an allotment for export.

He added that the delay in planting cotton in the governorates of al-Minya, Asyut, and Sawhaj is due to the farmers' desire to get the full winter yield out of faba beans, onions, and garlic before planting cotton, and he confirmed that delaying the planting of cotton causes a clear reduction in the quantity and quality of the cotton.

The director of the Research Institute said that the Institute is currently working to develop varieties of cotton that are suitable for mechanized agricultural operations, especially harvesting operations, in view of the high costs which force farmers to neglect the second crop, which is estimated to be 10 percent of the yield, in order to avoid the exorbitant harvesting costs. It is working also to develop varieties with a high percentage of oil in the seeds, even though the percentage of oil in Egyptian cottonseed is as much as 20 percent.

EGYPT

UNDERGROUND WATER RESOURCES STUDIED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 May 85 p 8

[Text] Engineer 'Isam Radi, minister of irrigation, announced that joint studies are currently going on between Egypt, the Sudan and Kenya to evaluate the Nubian underground reservoir that extends within the borders of the three states, in order to contain desertification. The ministry is currently evaluating the water-bearing layers in cooperation with the Academy for Scientific Research.

He added that it has been decided to implement new projects along the Nile to direct the proper use of irrigation water, along with the recycling of drainage water, in order to expand horizontal agriculture, which will help to make the best use of our water resources so that the Nubian underground reservoir in southern Egypt will not be depleted. He stressed that our available water resources are enough to get productivity out of 12 million feddans per year, even though the agricultural lands in the Nile basin and the Delta do not exceed 6 million feddans.

Yesterday, the minister opened a conference organized by the Public Petroleum Company in cooperation with the Egyptian Underground Water Society and the Geophysical Society.

Dr Husayn Kamal, president of the Public Petroleum Company, confirmed that the results of the studies to evaluate the sources of underground waters which the company had carried out and which had been financed by the cabinet, had indicated the existence of 3.3 million feddans suitable for agriculture in the region of East al-'Uwaynat.

Studies on the water resources in them also established the huge volume of the underground reservoir. That came as a result of tests on the flow from producing wells, which averaged between 200 and 400 cubic meters per hour.

The president of the Public Petroleum Company said that the quantities of underground waters available for utilization from the subterranean reservoir are enough to irrigate no less than 1.1 million feddans, which are the lands that have the first priority through water legislation at 7,500 cubic meters per year per feddan, for an irrigation period of 300 days per year.

Engineer Salih al-Sayyid Nur, director general of water resources in the public agency for construction projects and agricultural development, stressed the need for a study of the effect utilization of underground water sources would have in the region of East al-'Uwaynat on the agricultural lands in the oases of al-Kharjah and al-Dukhaylah, and he stressed the importance of carrying out precise studies to determine the annual water requirements per feddan, and to determine the areas that can be cultivated with underground water sources.

12547

CSO: 4504/355

28 June 1985

## EGYPT

## ANNIVERSARY OF RETURN OF SINAI TO EGYPT NOTED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 25 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Mun'im Murad: "Words"]

[Text] And so 3 years have passed since the Sinai was completely liberated and returned to the motherland. Many more days, months and years will also pass, but we will always remember the day of 25 April and will contemplate the circumstances that led to and surrounded it. Remembrance is good for the faithful.

This day is worthy of being etched in our memory and in history because what happened on that day cost the lives of many of our best men and youth in a series of painful wars, the last of which was the victorious war of 1973, after which we kept up our peaceful struggle which was more difficult and more tiresome than the struggle on the battlefield.

However, a small group here and abroad is still besmirching our victory in war and our wisdom and patience which we have achieved in peacetime. But the brightness of the sun cannot be extinguished by hatred and rumors, just as falsification of history cannot change the obvious truth, namely that the decision to enter the war and the decision to have peace were both sound decisions made at the right time. They served the purpose of saving the present generations from loss, frustration and despair and of rewarding their patience during the bad days.

The long years have taught us that the mere withdrawal of the aggressors from the land of Sinai is not enough. This land must be built up so to be filled with people, agriculture and farming, life and work so that it may be a strong barrier in the face of anyone who may take it upon himself to try again. For thousands of years, invaders have tried again and again because, after each invasion, it went back to being a neglected, forgotten and deserted land that tempted advancing armies to invade it as if it had no owner. Today, Sinai has owners who are building it, protecting it and working in it at agriculture, mining, tourism, construction and the building of houses and facilities. All eyes are upon it. Tours by children, young people and old people are endless, as though it were another "qiblah."

Your land, O Sinai, will remain the land of turquoise, palm trees and oil, a holy land irrigated by the blood of the Egyptians, redeemed by the lives of Egyptians and liberated by the will of Egyptians after despair almost shook all hearts.

May the memory of those who liberated Sinai from the usurpers stay alive. A sincere salute to their good memory, from the soldier who did not have a stripe on his shoulder to the heroic commander who was wronged during his life, just as he was wronged during his death and who, although he may have committed a thousand mistakes, redeemed himself when he liberated the beloved Sinai.

12502

CSO: 4504/336

EGYPT

# SLOWNESS IN APPLICATION OF SHARI'AH CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 2 May 85 p 2

[Editorial by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Gaddus: "Application of the Islamic Shari'ah to the Sea!"]

[Text] In a very few days, the People's Assembly will start a debate on the application of the Islamic Shari'ah. Frankly, the people believe that the government is not serious in this matter. They fear that the upcoming debates will meet the same fate as dozens of other debates before them, just empty talk and no practical application. I hope the government will remove the people's distrust by bringing the Islamic Shari'ah out of the dark drawers in which it has been locked up into the light of reality.

Many are the symptoms that have led the citizens to have a low opinion of the government. The people's demand to apply the Islamic Shari'ah has not moved a single step forward. The government tarries and procrastinates and puts off this matter from one year to the next. Finally, the president of the People's Assembly came out with the pronouncement that there were no laws ready in this regard. Is this possible? People do not believe such talk. Therefore, where are the fruits of the many years of hard work by honorable ulema and distinguished professors?

Another symptom of the lack of seriousness, in my opinion, is the declaration by the People's Assembly president that maritime law will be the first law to correspond to the Shari'ah. Sir, the people want the Islamic Shari'ah to be applied on "land" first before thinking of applying it to the sea or the air. On "land" we have many reprehensible actions everywhere. These actions disturb the lives of citizens. Start with them first. There is an almost unanimous agreement on the necessity to root them out. Their elimination does not require years of examination, study and scrutiny.

One example is the prohibition of gambling, the eradication of goings on in al-Haram Street [the location of many Western-type nightclubs] and the reformation and upgrading of the mass media. Islam is not, as some people imagine, a religion of unhappiness and gloom. It is a realistic religion that is aware of human needs, but, at the same time, one that exalts the human being and works for the establishment of a virtuous society. We welcome any step that leads to this objective.

EGYPT

SECOND CAIRO AIRPORT RECOMMENDED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 11 May 85 p 8

[Article by 'Abd-al-Jawad 'Ali]

[Text] The transport and communications committee in the People's Assembly advised that it would be necessary to expedite the selection of a site west of the Nile in order to build a second new airport for greater Cairo and to plan the region surrounding it in cooperation with the agency for construction planning, and to take steps to remove violations such as illegal buildings around the airports so there will be no obstacles for the airplanes. It demanded that Cairo's current airport continue to be upgraded and developed, considering that it is Egypt's principle airport, so that it will be able to absorb air traffic until the year 2000.

The committee, headed by Dr Sa'd al-Khawaliqah, demanded in its report on civilian airports that attention be given to improving services and buildings of the airports of al-Nuzhah, Luxor, Aswan, al-Ghardaqah, and Sharm al-Shaykh in order to increase air traffic to them, and to upgrade the standard of the airports of St Catherine, Port Sa'id, Abu Simbal, al-Jur, and al-Wadi al-Jadid so that they can be used for internal tourist traffic. It also demanded the completion of an economic feasibility study on the new airports.

The report demanded that airport development be accompanied by administrative activity to improve work and services in them as much as possible, and that attention be given to the human element in order to meet the continuing increase in technicians needed to operate the airplanes and airports and provide services to the airplanes, and that a technical study be done to raise standards.

12547

CSO: 4504/355

EGYPT

BRIEFS

AL-WAFD CIRCULATION INCREASES--The circulation of AL-WAFD newspaper has reached 450,000 copies per edition, an amount equal to the circulation of some daily national newspapers. The AL-AHRAM circulation department that distributes AL-WAFD reiterated its request to increase the amount it receives in order to meet the demand for the newspaper. Mr Salah al-Ghamri, AL-AHRAM's general circulation director, asked AL-WAFD to increase the number of delivered copies to at least 475,000. AL-WAFD, while proud of this request and working to fulfill it, gives credit to the people who deserve it, first and foremost, its readers of whom we are more proud than they are of us. [Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 25 Apr 85 p 1] [Text] 12502

IRRIGATION CAPACITY FOR RICE PRODUCTION--Engineer 'Isam Radi, minister of irrigation, announced that the water needed to irrigate the million feddans designated for rice production this year will be sufficient in the six governorates that will be planted to rice. Dr Yusuf Wali, minister of agriculture and food security, announced that there is also enough of the seed needed for planting this area. There are various varieties, primarily the two varieties Jizah 171 and 172. He asked that the farmers finish planting the seedlings early to protect the crop from being stricken with blast. The two ministers had witnessed the opening of the scientific conference to discuss the disease of blast in rice. Also speaking to the gathering were Dr 'Abd-al-Rahim Shahatah, director of the Agricultural Research Center, Dr Sayyid al-Bilal, director the Rice Research Section, and Dr (Lansen) Peterson, director of plant disease research in the American Research Center. Dr Muhibb Zaki, the previous minister of agriculture, asked that the cultivation of Rihu rice, which the ministry had decided to stop producing, be re-evaluated. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 May 85 p 8] 12547

CSO: 4505/355



LIBYA

BRIEFS

STATEMENT ON PALESTINIANS--Tripoli, Ramadan 18, 6 June, JAMAHIRAYAH NEWS Agency--The Council of Deputies in the Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress issued a statement calling for hte halting of aggression and killing of the Palestinian people in Sabra and Shatila camps in Beirut by the gangs of the Amal movement and its leadership to liquidate the Palestinian existence and the silencing of the Palestinian rifle on Lebanon's soil. The statement said that the gang of Amal movement aim at creating a shi'ite political force to participate with political maronite in ruling, and share the benefits of the sectarian regime to ease the task of passing the defeatist line in the area, to split the active national coalitions, resistance to the Zionist enemy nad its agent tools which ally themselves with it in a way that cast an effect contrary to the Arab will and Arab steadfastness. The statement called on lively forces and Arab liberation movements to act upon stopping these massacres by all means, gather around the just struggle the Palestinian revolution is launching, protect its rifle and fuel its struggle against the Zionist enemy and its tools of expansion in the Arab region. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 0916 GMT 6 Jun 85 LD]

CONGRESS SECRETARIAT CABLES ARAB LEADER--The Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress has urged the ministerial meeting of the Arab League Council to be held today in Tunis to rise to the level of pan-Arab responsibility, to stand on the side of the Palestinian Arab people, to expose the plot being implemented by Amal's gangs and its leadership against the Palestinians in Beirut, and to rescue and protect the Palestinian Arab people and their combatants. The secretariat, in a cable to the secretary general of the Arab League, placed the responsibility on the Arab regime for protecting the Palestinians as civilians, for protecting their rights to have a military presence, and for protecting the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle from any Arab territory. The Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress stressed its condemnation of all attempts to recognize the Zionist enemy and to neglect the Palestinian cause and rifle. It pointed out that no side has the right to negotiate with the Zionist enemy, because he is an historic enemy which does not have designs on Palestine alone, but all Arab territory. [Text] [Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 8 Jun 85 LD]

CSO: 4500/134

MAURITANIA

BRIEFS

MAURITANIA, CANADA SIGN AID AGREEMENT--A financial aid agreement was signed yesterday between our country and Canada, whereby Canada pledges to grant our country financial aid worth 5 million Canadian dollars. The agreement was signed for Mauritania by Dr (Mohamad Sidiya Ould Daddah), commissioner in charge of food aid, and for Canada by His Excellency Marius Bujold, the Canadian ambassador to our country. On this occasion, the commissioner in charge of food aid thanked the Canadian Government and people for this generous aid, which will cover the purchase of wheat and milk for our people affected by the drought. [Excerpt] [Nouakchott Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 6 Jun 85 AB]

CSO: 4500/133

SUDAN

REPORTING ON NATIONAL PARTY, ACTION CHARTER

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 14 May 85 p 1

[Article: "Sudanese National Party Founded Under Ghabbush's Leadership and Its National Action Charter Issued"]

[Text] The founding of the Sudanese National Party under the leadership of Father Philip 'Abbas Ghabbush has been announced and the party issued its national action charter which was made effective as of the date of its issuance.

The charter emphasized the necessity of unity of rank and destiny of all the Sudanese people and adherence to true unadulterated democracy.

The charter indicated in its goals that Sudan must be recognized as a country based on four pillars: the north, the east, the south and the west; and that opportunities must be equitably distributed among those four pillars with emphasis on the more backward areas with regard to cabinet representation, presidential affairs, legal and legislative representation and other institutions, representation in companies and the diplomatic corps and balance in the armed and regular forces, universities, higher institutes and high schools and other educational institutions. [This is] in addition to equitable distribution in all the various fields.

The charter demanded the continuation of regionalism and its development into a federation. It also demanded that priority be given to the development of the less-developed provinces and that the Sudanese National Party [SNP] be recognized as an established entity working for the realization of the national charter's goals.

The party, in its charter, explained that, with regard to domestic policy, national resources must be distributed equitably among the peoples of Sudan; national capital must be encouraged to invest; revenues from the provinces must be looked after; and more opportunities must be made available to the inhabitants of the provinces to manage their local affairs.

Concerning foreign policy, the charter emphasized the necessity to adhere to the African unity charters and the policy of non-alignment since Sudan is a Third World country.

The charter indicated the necessity to grant equal rights to women so that they may take part and be represented in the various fields. The charter also stated that party membership is wide open to all the Sudanese throughout the country and outlined ways to collect money for the party's treasury.

The party had issued statements expressing its views concerning the formation and establishment of the party and its various committees, cabinet formation in the transitional stage and excesses related to disregarding the party's views concerning transitional stage issues.

12502

CSO: 4504/342

SUDAN

BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON SENIOR OFFICIALS GIVEN

Foreign Minister Ibrahim Ayyub

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 25 Apr 85 p 8

[Article: "Ibrahim Taha Ayyub, Minister of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Ibrahim Taha Ayyub was born in Wadi Halfa, Northern Province, October 1941. He was graduated from the University of Khartoum (Liberal Arts College) in 1964 and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as third secretary in 1965. From 1966 to 1969, he worked at the Sudanese embassy in Iraq.

From June to December 1967, he worked as charge d'affaires in Amman. In June 1969, he was promoted to second secretary and worked at the Sudanese embassy in Ethiopia.

In October 1970, he was promoted to first secretary and worked as consul general in Asmarah from December 1971 to October 1973.

In September 1976, he was promoted to minister plenipotentiary, then to ambassador, and from 1976 to 1977, he worked as director general of the political department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From 1977 to 1983, he was the Sudanese ambassador to India. He then worked as Sudanese ambassador to Kenya until his appointment yesterday as minister of foreign affairs.

He attended most of the OAU summits and ministerial meetings held between 1969 and 1975. He holds orders of merit from Ethiopia and Iran.

He is married and has children.

Labor Minister Albino

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 1 May 85 p 12

[Article: "Oliver Battale Albino, Minister of Labor and Public Service"]

[Text] Oliver Battale Albino was born in Juba, Equatorial Province, in 1935. He began his elementary education in 1944 at the Juba Elementary and Middle School. In 1952 he attended the Luka Middle School and enrolled at the Rumbek High School in 1958.

In 1961 he was graduated from Khartoum University (Arts College) and joined the university as a research assistant.

He worked as a director general of the tobacco company in al-Janubi. Following the Addis Ababa agreement, he filled the position of counselor at the Sudanese embassy in Nairobi.

In 1975, he was promoted to minister of housing in the southern region, then minister of state and, in 1983, rapporteur of the supreme executive committee by republican order No 1. In 1965 he was a member of the 12-member committee of the Round Table Conference. In 1973 he attended the Addis Ababa agreement.

At present, he is minister of labor and public service for the transitional stage. He is married and has children.

#### Interior Minister Muhammad

Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 1 May 85 p 12

[Article: "Police General 'Abbas Madani Muhammad, Minister of the Interior"]

[Text] He was born in the city of Omdurman in 1935. He obtained his elementary education at the Bayt al-Amanah School, his intermediate education at the Omdurman School and his high school education at the Khur Taqt School from which he graduated in 1955.

He joined the police academy in 1957 and was graduated as a lieutenant in 1959.

During his service, he obtained a law degree from the Cairo University branch [in Khartoum] in 1969.

In 1972 he received his masters degree in law from the University of London.

During his police career he occupied many positions, the most important of which were chief of the passport, immigration and naturalization department, chief of the central criminal investigation office and director general of the national capital police.

He worked in various criminal and administrative police fields and participated in a number of conferences and scientific seminars, domestically and abroad.

He was promoted to the rank of police general, general police inspector, 15 May 1984.

He is married and has 9 children.

12502  
CSO: 4504/342

JPRS-NEA-85-086  
28 June 1985

## IMPROVED RELATIONS SOUGHT WITH ASIA

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 11 Apr 85 p 16

/Article by Yosi Melman: "Turn Toward Asia"/

/Text/ The future is hidden in Asia. That, at least, is what Foreign Ministry leaders who rely on economic forecasts believe. The continent of Asia is going through a quiet economic revolution which is turning it into a region with great commercial potential. The Foreign Ministry has been making serious efforts recently to improve ties with the countries of that region so that Israel may benefit from the abundance.

David Kimche, who is identified more than anyone else with Israel's attempts to renew diplomatic ties with Africa, has been concentrating more and more on Asia. Diplomats should not be ashamed to act as salesmen, he emphasized to his subordinates. An economic delegation from Japan recently visited Israel. Although its members are from the middle echelons of the Japanese business community, the visit was quite an innovation since, in the past, Japanese companies refrained from trading with Israel because of the Arab boycott.

An Israeli diplomat from Tokyo is serving as permanent representative in Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka, and relations between the two countries have improved. These relations are, of course, of a military/security nature (Israel, according to the international press, is helping the government of Sri Lanka in its fight against Tamil rebels), but there are also possibilities for trade relations. The Foreign Ministry is hoping that with the new Indian Government led by Rajiv Gandhi, who is free of his mother's longstanding hostility toward Israel, Israel will be able to increase its trade with New Delhi over the current amount of about 2 million dollars a year.

To this list should be added the appointment of Reuven Merhav to Israel's General Consulate in Hong Kong, an appointment which David Kimchi views as significant. With Merhav in Hong Kong, it is hoped that Israel may be able to penetrate the big market of People's China. The road to increasing Israeli exports to Asia, which now amount to about 505 million dollars, is still long. Pressure exerted by Arab nations and national economic interests of the Asian nations still represent difficulties. For example, a clearly pro-Western country like South Korea with official diplomatic ties with Israel, refuses to respond to Jerusalem's request to reopen the embassy in Seoul. The embassy was closed for financial reasons during Moshe Dayan's tenure as foreign minister. South Korea has economic interests in Arab countries and about a half million Koreans are employed in various projects, especially construction and communications, in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Emirates.

ISRAEL

## DEVELOPMENTS IN GAZA MUNICIPALITY REVIEWED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Apr 85 p 5

/Article by Danny Tzidqoni: "Gaza: A Municipal Perspective"

/Text/ At the beginning of the war in Lebanon, then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon removed Gaza Mayor Rashad al-Shawwa from office as part of his efforts to do away with the Palestinian presence. In al-Shawwa's place, the attorney Hamza Turkemani was appointed with the title of acting mayor. Sharon, who had met often with the Maronites, did not bother to meet with Arab leaders in the territories and did not accord that honor to Hamza Turkemani. Turkemani, in contrast to the government estimation of him, is not accepted by the population of his city, which sees him as following the dictates of the government. Yitzhak Rabin is the first Israeli defense minister since Ezer Weizmann to visit the municipality of Gaza, whose administration does not represent residents but the Israeli Government.

We got from the acting mayor of the largest Arab municipality in Israel an interesting survey of the city, whose population is about 200,000 living on 12,000 dunams of land. The boundaries of Gaza in the east are on the old al-Hadna, in the north the town of Jabalyah, whose development sparked a series of construction projects in the west along the coast and in the south, the municipal border is the Gaza river.

Due to the uncertainty about its political and economic fate, Gaza grew without planning. Based on aerial photographs taken in 1979, Turkemani points out the great crowding in the eastern sector of the town compared with the relative sparsity of population in the west. Because the town developed without any prior design or plan, said Turkemani, few large open areas remain, and it is difficult to plan or design at this point.

It should be remembered that education and health are not included as municipal services but as government services. The municipality provides its residents with the following: water, sewage, electricity, roads and sidewalks, sanitation, city construction and business permits. Of the 663 municipal workers, 243 are permanent employees, 218 are employees with special contracts and 202 are sanitation workers. In 1983 the municipal budget (in March 1985 figures) was 8.325 billion shekels or \$9.25 million. A year later the budget was 7.842 billion shekels, or \$8.714 million. The proposed current budget is 7.2 billion shekels, or \$8 million. The government will determine the budget. The municipality requested \$8.427 million for development needs.



For political reasons, the Israeli Government opposes having Arab groups outside of Israel help the Gaza municipality finance its activities. The defense minister said during his visit that he hoped that countries like the United States, which expects Israel to improve the standard of living of the residents in the occupied territories, might help accomplish this.

Gaza's development is proceeding according to blueprints worked out by Israeli companies--Israel Water Planning (TAHAL) and the electric company--in the areas of water, sewage and electricity. Certain plans have been implemented. Others have not due to lack of funds. Given current economic conditions, the sums of money required are fanciful.

The municipality has, however, overcome several difficulties. In cooperation with the civil administration headquarters and with the help of the UN organization UNRWA, it is financing the third stage of the project to store rainwater. Two million dollars will be invested in this stage, which will begin soon. Rainwater collection, says the acting mayor, is the most important project of the town. Due to Gaza's topography, rainwater collects in low places. When the project is completed, the water will drain into a reservoir with a volume of 300,000 square mm.

According to all estimates, within 10 years (provided Israel still retains control of the Gaza Strip), Israel will have no choice but to provide water from its own sources to the region, in which about 1 million Arabs will live with 25,000 Jews. This forecast does not keep the administration from raising the issue of water at the municipal level; one project involves recycling water by purifying it for irrigating orchards. The second stage of the project, which is due to be completed soon, cost 142 million shekels. The third stage will require about 1 million dollars and will be financed by a UN organization (UNDP). Gaza's sewage is a health hazard and its drainage will be worked out with the completion of sewage plant No 3.

The Israel Electric Company provides electricity to Gaza through the municipality. Here too, there is an immediate need to develop high and low tension wires to meet the growing demand. The same is true of roads which have to catch up with the amazing rate of increase in the number of vehicles in the town.

9348

CSO: 4423/42

ISRAEL

# USE OF WATER IN NEGEV'S DEPTHS URGED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Apr 85 p 9

/Article by A. R.: "Water in the Negev's Depths"/

/Text/ Professor Aryeh Issar has investigated and has found that the Nubian sandstone found in the Negev holds enough water to supply Israel's needs for 300 years. Policymakers are afraid of his findings, afraid to change their conceptual framework and relate seriously to this idea.

According to research studies, there are reservoirs in the Negev and the 'Arava containing about 70 billion square meters of fresh water which could supply Israel's needs for 300 years, says Professor Aryeh Issar, director of the Center for the Study of Water Resources at the Institute for the Study of the Desert in Qiryat Sede-Boqer.

Does this data herald a solution to Israel's water problems? Professor Issar believes it is not so simple. "The idea that such a massive quantity of water is contained in the Nubian sandstone in the Sahara Desert, the Sinai and the Negev is not new. We raised the possibility in the early 1970's. Later, when we measured the amounts in billions of square meters of water, we found that those who make policy concerning water are afraid to adopt this unusual idea because the findings would force them to drop their usual conceptual framework. Because of this fear of change, it is easier to say: "Aryeh Issar is a dreamer. He must be fought and silenced. And that is what the establishment has done."

Whom are you criticizing mostly when you speak of the establishment?

"Mainly TAHAL (Israel Water Planning) and some of the staff at the Geological Institute. Given these findings, the pace of planning and the rate of change in thinking is inadequate. According to our latest surveys, we could get 200-300 million square meters of water a year from these reservoirs. And meanwhile, we have discovered that there are additional reservoirs below these layers which contain smaller amounts of fresh water. With new technology like "sweet osmosis," we could draw them out of the earth's depths. They are, in effect, hidden reserves and, in contrast to the national water carrier, their availability is not dependent on climate.

"If we adopt the approach of the planners of the national carrier and combine the two systems, we would have a single national operation, part of which already exists, from Dan to Elat. Strange as it may seem, it would be possible during a drought year, for example, to transfer water from reservoirs in the desert to the whole Northern Negev. In other words, this approach would allow the national waterworks to function with greater flexibility and be less dependent on the vicissitudes of climate."

9348

CSO: 4423/42

ISRAEL

NEW WEST BANK ARAB NEWSPAPER PLANNED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Apr 85 p 12

[Article by Danny Tzidqoni: "Another West Bank Newspaper in East Jerusalem"]

/Text/ A new Arab newspaper will soon be published in East Jerusalem, AL-MAWQIF /THE POSITION/ at the initiative of the journalists Hanna Sinyurah of Jerusalem and Zuhayr al-Ra'is of Gaza. They have already worked together on AL-FAJR (al-Ra'is was chairman of the board of that paper). Sinyurah will continue his work on AL-FAJR and will own the new newspaper.

Zuhayr al-Ra'is, publisher of a journal for the sciences, AL-'ULUM, and a news journal, AL-USBU' AL-JADID, told me in his Gaza office that the outside pages of the new newspaper would be rose-colored "like the London FINANCIAL TIMES." The newspaper will express national policy, will support Arab unity and will stand for humanitarianism, socialism and social justice.

The publishers received permission to publish the paper several months ago and, since then, have put out a few trial issues but have not yet decided on the exact date of publication.

AL-MAWQIF will be the fifth Arabic newspaper in Jerusalem after AL-QUDS (identified with Jordan), AL-FAJR (identified with the PLO), the sensationalist AL-SHA'B, and AL-MITHAQ (identified with the Popular Front of George Habash).

In the days of Egyptian rule of the Gaza Strip, Zuhayr al-Ra'is edited AKHBAR FALASTIN, which was the "official" Palestinian newspaper. What are the chances of the new newspaper getting established in the rather limited market of Arab newspapers in Israel? Al-Ra'is says that he can only decide that after publication of AL-MAWQIF begins.

9348  
CSO: 4423/42

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO OFFICIALS COMMENT ON AGREEMENT WITH JORDAN

Tunis AL-MAWQIF in Arabic 20 Apr 85 pp 34-41

[Interviews with Khalid al-Hasan, member of the Central Committee of Fatah, and Abu-al-'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee, by 'Abdallah 'Isa; date and place not specified]

[Text] Since the Amman agreement, the Palestinian cause has passed through a delicate period that has seen the fiercest of confrontations concerning the fate of the Palestinian ship and its leadership's ability to guide it to the port of salvation.

In the previous issue of AL-MAWQIF we published the political program of the Palestinian National Salvation Front, which is a collection of fedayeen organizations opposed to the leadership of Mr Yasir 'Arafat, and its response to the 'Amman agreement and the agenda of the PLO leadership. In this issue, we continue to examine the Palestinian positions on the future of the organization and its directions in the coming period. Here we publish two interviews that reflect the view of the PLO's leadership in Tunisia on the Palestinian and Arab situations. The interviews are with Mr Khalid al-Hasan, member of the Central Committee of Fatah, and Abu-al-'Abbas, member of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

Since we seek comprehensive coverage, we have presented the two Palestinian leaders with various questions frequently asked of the leadership concerning joint action with Jordan, developments in the fighting in Lebanon and its effects on the Palestinian cause, and the organization's view of a settlement and its realistic likelihood in the foreseeable future.

Following is the text of the two interviews.

The latest developments on the Palestinian and Arab scenes include the 'Amman agreement and the debate it has sparked on the Palestinian scene; a number of basic issues such as Syrian-Palestinian relations, Palestinian-Soviet relations and Palestinian-Palestinian relations, which have suffered a setback in light of the current situation; and the results of activities of the National Salvation Front and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. These developments were the focus of our interview with Mr Khalid al-Hasan (Abu-al-Sa'd), member of the Central Committee of Fatah and chairman of the Foreign

and Parliamentary Committee of the National Council. He welcomed our interview and spoke frankly and openly.

#### Amman Agreement

[Question] The Amman agreement and the debate it has sparked on the Palestinian scene--in your view can it be considered a new departure and choice of the Palestinian leadership, or is it a new tactical move and a manifestation of the pursuit of what is called the philosophy of filling the void that exists with the Palestinian cause?

[Answer] First, we must differentiate between the Amman agreement and the type of debate that has emerged concerning this agreement, especially on the Palestinian scene. This debate is of two kinds. The first kind was a rejection of the agreement before the text of it was announced, which means a rejection of the principle of agreement with Jordan. If we note who rejected the agreement we find they are of two types. One type is absolutely subservient to Syria. By these I mean the National Alliance. They reiterate the Syrian position even though it has no relation with the Palestinian position that is based on independent will. The second type includes those who have been adopted by the Democratic Alliance. The problem with these is that they have a dual position. In addition to representing independent Palestinian organizations, they include parties working from the premise of the need to change Arab regimes and change Jordan. They also have the priority, because of the ideological position from which they operate, of changing the social structure of the state and converting it into a socialist republic. Therefore, they have parties working on the Jordanian scene as political parties and at the same time they have groups working on the Palestinian scene as Palestinian organizations. The ideological position of the latter is opposed to any agreement with Jordan, regardless of its nature. This stems from an absolutist position which is the opposite of political action, the opposite of pragmatism and the opposite of Marxism--on which they base their principles. They say that the regime in Amman is rightist and a lackey and, therefore, no agreement can be made with it and it would be useless to make an agreement with it. This is an ideological position that is incapable of dealing with current political realities. If the Soviet Union, for example, held this view it could not deal with any regimes except socialist regimes, but the reality is quite different.

Then there was the second type of reaction after the agreement was published. It is also regrettable that the publication of the agreement resulted in people taking absolutist positions. Not one of the positions was raised on the basis of sound opposition. It was said that the agreement flowed from the treachery of Camp David, and this is not true. It was also said that it ignored the Fes resolutions, although the preface of the agreement stems from the Fes resolutions. It was said that it ignores the Palestinian people's right of self-determination, despite the presence of perfectly clear articles in the agreement concerning the Palestinian people's right of self-determination. It was said that it did not include the idea of an independent Palestinian state, although the text provided by the PLO during the first phase of negotiations and the final text points to a confederation between the two states of Jordan and Palestine. Therefore, the state is present. What was said about the absence of a Palestinian state in the agreement is

incorrect and is merely an accusation. Rather, the inclusion of this state in a confederal union was the resolution of the National Council. They also said that the agreement neglects the right of Palestinians to return, but the text of the agreement is clear in its treatment of the refugee issue on the basis of UN resolutions concerning the right of return or compensation.

Let me tell you, therefore, that the real position that emerged in opposition to this agreement and the various provocations that followed were based on the principle of rejection of the idea of agreement with Jordan. We disagree entirely with this notion, not only because it is contrary to reason, logic and the requirements of the political struggle, but also because it is contrary to the resolutions of the National Council, which stipulate excellent relations, especially with Jordan. These resolutions also stipulate that these relations look to the future in the context of a confederal union between the two independent states. I can also tell you that this attack and provocation against the agreement has created confusion among the Palestinian masses which must be cleared up. I believe that the public is not against the agreement. On the contrary, the majority at the grassroots level is for the agreement, especially in the occupied territories. Otherwise, how could we explain the victory for Fatah in the student union elections held after the agreement at Bir Zayt, al-Najah and other schools?

Concerning the question of whether it is a new choice by the leadership or a tactical move, it is an old choice in terms of the return to Jordan and the restoration of normal relations with Jordan. This began with the Amman accord that was concluded at the end of 1970 after the events that occurred between the resistance and Jordan. All Palestinian efforts at the summit conferences have been based on the implementation of the Amman accord and the resolutions of the Cairo summit. A quadripartite committee was composed for this issue consisting of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the PLO. However, it was not able to achieve its goals in view of the prevailing circumstances and for Arab reasons.

Also, there is no one who has the least bit of sense and who looks at the map of Palestine and the surrounding countries and says that the presence of the PLO in the territories surrounding Palestine is a tactical move. This can only be a completely strategic stance. The Camp David Accords removed us from Egypt; the events in Lebanon removed us from Lebanon; the Syrian-Palestinian tie removed us from Syria; and now conditions are permitting the restoration of Palestinian-Jordanian relations. This does not mean that the restoration of relations is a tactical move. Rather, it is the implementation of strategy that is imposed by the political geography, since Jordan is a necessary state for Palestine, and imposed by demography, since Jordan contains one-third of the Palestinian people. No leadership of a struggle can consider its presence among its people as a tactical move.

Moreover, it cannot be said that it is a new choice because it is the continuation of a longstanding strategic choice whose fulfillment has been blocked by circumstances since 1970. New circumstances emerged, however, that led to the possibility of returning to Jordan and concluding an agreement with it, and this inevitably was achieved.



It is possible to accept the idea that the agreement is meant to fill the void surrounding the Palestinian cause, not as the sole reason for the agreement, but as a reason that corresponded with the situation the PLO was in after the departure from Lebanon, the deterioration of Palestinian-Syrian relations, the inability to return to Egypt and the circumstances that enabled the return to Jordan. One of the results of this agreement is to fill the void that has surrounded the Palestinian cause. We can also say, however, that it is more than this. It not only filled a void, but it restored natural ties with Jordan and developed them for the better, revitalized ties with our people in the occupied territories, and revitalized the cause on the international scene, where it had suffered a major setback because of the Arab situation on the one hand and because of preoccupation with the Lebanese situation and Syria giving the situation in Lebanon top priority on the other hand.

[Question] You objected to the positions of the National and Democratic Alliances, but was there not also opposition to this agreement inside the PLO Executive Committee and the Central Committee of Fatah?

[Answer] I can tell you with all certainty that there was not opposition from either the Executive Committee or the Central Committee. The two committees ratified the agreement. The ratification may not have been with absolute consensus, but the ratification was legitimate, official and obtained with more than a simple majority. The nature of the agreement is that it is a plan of joint action. Therefore, it controls joint Palestinian-Jordanian action and has no relation with the nature of the political solution, if there is one. Its goal is joint action to fulfill the idea of an international conference, in which the PLO is on an equal footing with the other parties, and which includes the permanent member states of the UN Security Council or at least the Soviet Union and the United States. Because this is the nature of the agreement, when it was concluded it was necessary to ascertain ratification from the Executive and Central Committees, not because they are independent--they are obligated to adhere to the resolutions of the National Council--but so that the enemy camp would not have a misunderstanding. Regardless of our pronouncements, there will be those who will give explanations, ideas, conditions and interpretations to strip this agreement of its contents, since what is raised in the enemy camp is aimed at undermining joint Jordanian-Palestinian action.

It was clear in the speech of His Majesty King Husayn in the National Council and in our discussions with his majesty that the goal of this agreement is to fulfill the idea of an international conference and the recognition of the PLO. All of this must be accomplished with Arab support. In other words, the results of Palestinian-Jordanian joint action must be submitted to Arab leaders to obtain their agreement, then the Palestinian-Jordanian joint action can move forward on the international scene with a wide base of Arab support and in the direction that is agreed upon by the Arabs. This means that we are saying that the Palestinian effort with Jordan is an operation spurred by the Fes resolutions. This comes in the wake of the dissolution of the seven-member committee, which became inactive because it was unable to meet due to the refusal of the brothers in Syria to attend this meeting, and in the wake of the stagnation of the Arab League summit meetings. This inability to meet finally has led to the freezing of the Fes resolutions. It was necessary to



revitalize them to revitalize the Palestinian cause, which has begun to fade on the international scene.

[Question] Can it be said that the Amman agreement will lead to new horizons concerning a solution to the Palestinian issue or will it lead to a Palestinian-Palestinian dialog and then a Palestinian-Syrian dialog?

[Answer] I do not believe that it can be said that the Amman agreement will present new horizons for a solution of the Palestinian issue. We must realize that the Western camp, led by the United States and including Europe, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Japan, has always focused on Jordan, believing that the West Bank is a part of Jordan or that it was taken from Jordan. In addition, they have neutralized the role of the PLO since they will only deal with states, and those they will deal with concerning the subject of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in accordance with international realities and international law, are Egypt and Jordan. They hold that the enemy occupied these two portions of these two states. There are many other reasons that the Western camp, the United States in particular, uses to justify saying no to the PLO.

More recently, you may have noticed through the Venice communique, which was issued by the European common market, that the phrase Palestine Liberation Organization appeared with the meaning "in association with Jordan." Then this phrase began to appear in all the stated positions of the European countries. We believe that this agreement will eliminate this press position, which manufactures public opinion. It will eliminate this position as an obstacle, if only from the media. From the standpoint of theoretical political logic, it will eliminate any noise from the West that says no to the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and this will happen in the wake of the agreement reached between the PLO and Jordan. However, even if there has been no agreement that would lead to a Palestinian-Palestinian dialog, this dialog was sought before the agreement and the conflict that appeared existed before the agreement and, therefore, the agreement is not the reason for Palestinian-Palestinian conflict. The fact that the agreement survived is a reason behind the Palestinian dialog. Such is also the case with Syrian-Palestinian relations. The conflict in this area existed before the agreement. Therefore, I do not see that this conflict has any link to the dialog with Syria, in terms of when this dialog began or did not begin. The National Council established a committee for Palestinian-Palestinian dialog and the door to this dialog is open, although the current timing is not conducive to such a dialog, especially since the Syrian priority is now Lebanon and not the Palestinian issue. As 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam said, "The Palestinian issue is not urgent as is the situation in Lebanon and, therefore, the Palestinian matter can be delayed until the Lebanese matter is settled." This is an interpretation. We are not against giving a solution to the Lebanese problem a special priority, but only as long as this does not mean that the Palestinian issue is not frozen and its effectiveness destroyed on the international scene. The two issues are intertwined.

[Question] Can the Amman agreement be viewed as having contributed to deepening the differences on the Palestinian scene and differences between Palestinians and Syria?

[Answer] On the surface the Amman agreement might worsen Palestinian-Syrian relations, but in essence it will not for a very simple reason. When Syrian-Jordanian relations were good and proceeding in the direction of unity, Syria was applying pressure for the restoration of normal relations between Jordan and the PLO. Perhaps you remember the meeting that was held between brother Abu-'Ammar and King Husayn with al-Qadhdhafi present during the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front summit that was held in Damascus. This was the last summit that was attended by the late Boumedienne.

Similarly, the National Council meeting of 1978 was held under the banner of a context of agreement to cooperate with Jordan. This was defended in the National Council by Zuhayr Muhsin. No one can say that Zuhayr Muhsin was speaking personally and contradicting Syria or the Ba'th Party. He was a member of the National Command of the Ba'th Party. Nor was he contradicting the Palestinian branch of the Ba'th Party since he was the secretary general of Sa'iqah. When Jordanian-Syrian relations were good, it was Syria that was applying pressure for a Palestinian agreement with Jordan. Now Jordanian-Syrian relations are bad because Jordanian-Iraqi relations are good. Therefore, we believe that when Syrian-Jordanian relations return to their natural state, the problems that our brothers in Syria have with the agreement will end, and perhaps this will also lead to Palestinian-Syrian-Jordanian relations returning to normal. We hope that this will happen as soon as possible. Concerning differences among Palestinian organizations, I answered that question at the beginning of the interview.

#### Syrian-Palestinian Relations

[Question] Syria is trying to accumulate as many pressure and confrontation cards as possible so that it can play a strong regional role in the area. It is natural that the Palestinian card will be among those cards. Do you believe that the American administration's disagreement with the Palestinian explanation of the Amman agreement will result in a renewed dialog between Syria and the PLO, and do you believe that there will be Syrian agreement to renew a dialog with Brother Yasir 'Arafat specifically?

[Answer] Syria has every right to accumulate as many pressure cards as it can so that it can play a strong role in the Middle East region, which includes the geographical region in which Syria exists. However, there is a difference between pressure cards accumulated as a result of usurping the cards of others, and including the cards of others in one basket with your own and using them in the context of cooperation and coordination. I believe that Syrian-Palestinian differences and Syrian-Jordanian differences effectively eliminate a Syrian role in the Palestinian issue, whereas a Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement would give Syria a leadership role in the issue and in the region. Therefore, the natural course of events would be for Syria to play a strong regional role in the context of Arab solidarity. This would occur if there were Syrian-Jordanian-Palestinian agreement and not differences with Jordan and the PLO. Such differences effectively remove Syria from the Palestinian issue and deliver a blow to Arab solidarity. Therefore, to a certain extent, it is Syria's right to play its natural role and its strong role in the region. It is also our right to tell Syria that this role is welcome and sought, but it cannot be achieved except in the context of

cooperation, coordination and solidarity. It cannot be achieved in the context of usurpation or subservience. Concerning the non-receptivity of the American administration to the Palestinian explanation of the Amman agreement, I do not believe that this will lead to dialog between the PLO and Syria under current circumstances because, as I said, the collapse of the dialog between us and Syria predated this agreement. Therefore, the agreement will not lead to a renewal of the dialog with Brother Abu-'Ammar because, according to the information that I have, the Syrians maintain the unyielding position that they will not speak with Brother Yasir 'Arafat.

#### National Salvation Front

[Question] What is the significance of the formation of the National Salvation Front? Specifically, is there a danger that it will threaten the unity of the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people? Could the fact that the Democratic Front is not included in this alliance be considered an indication that the door is still open to dialog between Palestinian parties or, at least, between some of them?

[Answer] The National Salvation Front was stillborn and there is no danger posed by it and no use for it. I am certain that our brothers in Syria know this, but in the end they had no alternative but to form this front. Perhaps its formation caused the least amount of damage since it was termed a salvation front and not a new Palestine Liberation Organization. Therefore, there is no threat to the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people because they only acknowledge the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Concerning the Democratic Front, as I said before, it has double positions. It maintains its relations with Syria on the one hand and maintains its relations with Fatah on the other, with the hope that time will eliminate the conflict between the two. We do not close the door to dialog and we invite them continuously to engage in dialog with an open mind and an open heart.

#### Steadfastness and Confrontation Front

[Question] We have heard about measures taken by some parties to reinvigorate the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. What is your comment concerning this? In your view, on what operational grounds will this front be based in light of the absence of the PLO, which was a fundamental party in forming this front?

[Answer] Had it not been for the PLO, the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front would not have been formed. The PLO played a fundamental role in the Banghazi meeting, at which the Steadfastness Front was formed. Everyone who attended the meeting knows this and knows the details of the role that the PLO played, especially that of the Fatah leadership, which was present at this meeting. I do not believe that it is possible to reinvigorate the Steadfastness Front because it was established to confront the policies of al-Sadat. From the time it was established until now, it has failed in all of its positions and failed to take any practical step. This failure has become an inability to issue a true political communique absent the goal for which it was established. The existing relations between its members are based on

narrow self interests and such relations cannot lead to a reinvigoration of the front. Such a reinvigoration would include contradictions. There is a request that the POLISARIO Front be included, but the inclusion of the POLISARIO Front would nullify the unity agreement between Libya and Morocco. There is a request that Iran be included, but the inclusion of Iran would mean that the front is no longer Arab. I do not know what the Algerian and Yemeni positions are on this issue.

With these contradictions, what would the goal of the front be? Would it be to confront imperialism and Zionism? The Steadfastness Front does not have a monopoly on this. Rather, this is the slogan of Arab League summits. Where will the front fight imperialism? It is assumed that these are progressive countries and have positions against imperialism and want to fight it, but where? In our countries, there is no imperialism. There is, however, American influence in the Arab region. This cannot be combatted except through Arab solidarity, without which these countries are incapable of achieving an Arab position. Therefore, these efforts are meant to fill the void and have no foundation. They have contradictions that are potentially explosive, and not foundations that lead to unification.

#### Palestinian-Soviet Relations

[Question] What is your evaluation of the Soviet Union's position concerning the PLO? We have heard that the Soviet ambassador in Syria has received delegations of the National Salvation Front and that the Soviet Union has taken a negative position on the Amman agreement.

[Answer] If it is true that the Soviet ambassador received a delegation from the Salvation Front, this means nothing because any embassy can receive whomever it wants in order to listen to its point of view. This does not indicate a change in the position of the Soviet Union either negatively or positively concerning the PLO. Still, Soviet-Syrian relations could have ramifications on the Soviet position concerning the Amman agreement. Nonetheless, until now I have not seen any change in the Soviet strategic position toward the PLO. However, there are demands necessitated by the Soviet Union's larger strategic position, and we realize this. It is necessary for us to wait with patience and wisdom until matters are clarified.

#### Arab Situation

[Question] There are those who blame the Palestinian leadership for continuing to wager on new American views concerning the struggle in the region. In your opinion, is it not possible to believe that what has happened on the Palestinian scene since the Zionist invasion of 1982 has created new realities and convictions among the Palestinian man on the street, realities that are urging the acceptance of any solution, even if it is considered a concession? What is your response to this?

[Answer] This could be the Israeli and American plot to bring the Arab and Palestinian man on the street to a level of despair so that he will accept any solution. However, it is not necessary that the American scheme be accepted by the PLO or, in particular, the Palestinian man on the street. America can

fail in its scheme. In addition, we must realize that our enemy makes real changes daily on Palestinian territory through threats and forced evacuation. Therefore, our concern about the situation in the West Bank has a top priority that cannot be ignored. The Palestinian leadership has never wagered on a new American change. The Palestinian leadership believes, in a way that could be described as absolute, that any change in the American position that is positive will not be achieved except with Arab solidarity that is true and practical, not merely mouthed. Such solidarity would be supported by a wide range of international alliances. Without this, no one can wait for a tactical or near strategic change in the American position or a change in the Israeli position.

Perhaps the American administration believes that the results of the Lebanon war of 1982 succeeded in creating despair and bitterness. No sooner had the Palestinians left Beirut than Reagan presented his initiative. However, which of the member countries of the Arab League, including the PLO, agreed with this initiative? Not one. Had this not been the case, the Fes resolutions would not have been possible. These resolutions mean that the Reagan initiative is unacceptable. The Fes plan is the one accepted by the Arabs.

Therefore, I hope that you will not fear what is unfortunately circulated that there are concessions and concessions. If this people had accepted concessions they would not have borne rifles in 1965. I believe that thinking in terms of concessions is destructive because it leads to the idea of acceptance of concessions at the beginning and destroys self-confidence. These things will destroy the fighting movement.

[Question] It has been noted that in general the official Arab line has begun to take a clear course in discussing a solution. Do you believe that the Arab situation, in light of the current balance of power, permits one to wager that an entry into the peace process can bring a just solution?

[Answer] I have stated, and at every opportunity I reiterate, that without Arab solidarity which includes the Arab nation with Egypt it is not possible to achieve balance on the international scene in the interest of the Palestinian cause. Similarly, without true Arab will to use the military option, there is no value to Arab solidarity. Arab solidarity alone will not achieve a change in the interest of the cause. There must be practical Arab solidarity that uses all of the pressure cards that the Arabs have, including the military option. This solidarity is the only kind that will lead to American reconsideration of its position. If the Arab situation continues as it currently is, there will only be surrender.

[Question] Do you expect a visit soon by Brother Abu-'Ammar to Cairo?

[Answer] I do not expect a visit soon by Brother Abu-'Ammar to Egypt because nothing currently justifies such a trip.



[Interview with Abu-al-'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee, by 'Abdallah 'Isa, date and place not specified]

The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement and the debate it has spurred on the Palestinian scene as well as Palestinian-Syrian relations and Palestinian-Soviet relations were the focus of the interview AL-MAWQIF conducted with Mr Abu-al-'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee.

[Question] Some time ago you took a trip with Brother Abu-Mazin which had positive results in the area of confirming international support for Palestinian legitimacy and for the PLO. Could you amplify on this trip and could you comment on the talk that is circulating that the trip came in the context of mediation between the PLO and Syria?

[Answer] The trip came as part of the activities that the Executive Committee has been conducting since the National Council meeting. This activity has included many delegations that have gone to fraternal and friendly countries to explain the results of the council meeting. At the same time, the goal of these trips is to open a dialog with our friends in the world in order to pursue and stimulate relations with friendly powers.

This trip enjoyed an exceptional importance because it included countries that have historical and extensive ties in support of the Palestinian revolution. In particular, the trip included the Soviet Union, which is at the forefront in this field.

#### Relations with Syria

Mediations with Syria, or relations with Syria, were a part of scheduled discussions. We also discussed numerous issues that did not stop at relations with Syria. We informed our friends of the Executive Committee's resolution which calls for a correction of relations with Syria on specific nationalist grounds governed primarily by equality of relations and non-interference in internal affairs. In this context, we asked our friends to continue exerting their efforts in this regard. We believe that our friends have great responsibility and they were very responsive on this question and on a number of issues concerning our views on the current political phase and our future direction. There was also support and welcome for the results of the National Council meeting, which was the 16th session and which confirmed the PLO's adherence to all its political commitments. It also confirmed the PLO as the greatest common denominator of all groups of the Palestinian revolution.

Therefore, the concern for Palestinian national unity, which was our concern and that of our friends who seek the best interests of the Palestinian revolution, is the subject of the future struggle and our views for the coming phase. All of this was the focus of the discussions we conducted in Moscow.

[Question] What is the likelihood of reconciliation with Syria in light of current facts?

[Answer] I do not believe that the PLO or any Palestinian organization has a program that clashes with the Arab states. Their programs take into consideration that the Palestinian cause is a part of the Arab cause. The progressive Arab position requires revolutionary organizations and these revolutionary organizations require Arab backing.

The conflicts that occurred with Syria in 1983--the rebellion and the formation of the National Salvation Front--all represent Syrian escalation aimed at deepening differences on the Palestinian scene. Syria is responsible for all of these things. I must also mention here that the PLO sought the mediation of friendly states in order to reach a solution with Syria, but the Syrian response was hostile to the unity and independence of the PLO.

The official Syrian escalation reached its peak during its regional [qutri] conference. No Arab regional conference has the right to interfere directly in any other Arab region except in a way that is consistent with the progressive and public national struggle.

The Ba'th Party for the first time put itself in the position to decide for the Palestinian revolution. It decided to establish a national front and make Khalid al-Fahum its chairman. We consider this position to be antagonistic and unhelpful in correcting relations with Syria.

We were hoping that the regional conference would come out with a positive resolution concerning the correction of relations between us along the lines of the National Council resolution, which calls for good relations with Syria.

Up to now matters do not bode well. There is an increase in alienation and an increase in the ill-conceived escalation in Syrian positions hostile to the PLO, and we believe this escalation is dangerous and does not contribute toward development of correct and placid relations with Syria. However, we have not lost hope.

#### Lebanese Resistance

[Question] The partial Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon undoubtedly came as a result of the Lebanese resistance and gives evidence that the method of armed struggle is the only way to deal with the enemy. What are the reasons behind the Palestinian revolution's inability to intensify the armed struggle in its dealings with Israel?

[Answer] The Palestinian revolution is the one that has used armed struggle and has taught other powers how to fight. We have not done this to defend these countries in a capacity as citizens of them, but to uphold the revolution. To this moment, the revolution continues to manifest itself in the highest form of revolutionary struggle, regardless of the place in which this fighting is practiced. I must point out here that the Lebanese resistance is the one that has forced the enemy from the south of Lebanon. I also stress, however, that the Palestinian revolution had a very basic contribution in this fighting, although I cannot claim that this fighting was solely Palestinian.

The fighting was and continues to be spurred by the Palestinian revolution. It was undertaken by Palestinians, Lebanese and Arabs of various nationalities, all of whom commend the lessons in fighting learned from the Palestinian revolution. I tell you that we in the PLO alone during 1984 lost 19 martyrs in south Lebanon. We have never directly announced responsibility for any of these operations, although at times we have announced various names to respond to those who try to confuse the situation.

We take great pride in the resistance in south Lebanon. The fighting that is going on is the result of shared Palestinian expertise in fighting. The Palestinian revolution continues its confrontation of the enemy and it does not consider Palestine the sole vital battlefield for fighting the enemy. We consider the battlefield to be everywhere where our enemy is found. There is no operation in south Lebanon except that the Palestinian revolution has a hand in it, either in terms of weapons or training or actual participation.

Concerning the armed struggle in occupied territory, I would turn the reader's attention to the Israeli declaration concerning the hundreds of military operations in which even more casualties have fallen. There is only a difference in the weapons used. The weapons that the Palestinian revolution stored and left behind and the expertise and training that it left with the Lebanese people played an important role. This is a fundamental point that, unfortunately, has not been recognized by any Arab regime that previously controlled the West Bank or Gaza Strip. They did not permit our people inside the occupied territories to possess the same weapons as in Lebanon. We will find that the foreordained battle will begin with rocks and end with bombs and rockets. This proves definitively that the armed struggle is the primary means to confront Israel.

Perhaps the demonstrations and the overwhelming support for the PLO which was witnessed in Sidon just after the Israeli withdrawal from there confirms what I have previously said.

[Question] Is not the PLO searching for a peaceful solution?

[Answer] To the same extent that the PLO announces in the political program its preparedness to accept an international conference, it also announces that the armed struggle is the primary means of pursuing the fight. We must not look at matters in a one-sided manner.

The debate over this has existed continuously. All of us remember the struggle that broke out in 1974 between two movements, one arguing for acceptance and the other for rejection of a peaceful solution. I remember that I was one of the executive leaders of the rejection front. Now, 11 years later, we are still fighting, sometimes paying a price and sometimes making headway.

There is an open battle on the political front and an open battle on the military front. Your question is correct when it refers to the PLO. I am for a peaceful solution and putting down our rifles and participating with the PLO and its executive body on the grounds of the National Charter and on the grounds of ongoing discussion between the leadership organizations of the PLO.



This program, whether from the National Council or the National Charter, indicates clearly the historic right of the Palestinians to Palestinian territory and to engage in armed struggle to create the appropriate balance of power to achieve our legitimate national aspirations. It also indicates clearly the right of wide ranging diplomatic movement. We deal with worldwide public opinion by using a weapon which is not the same weapon with which we confront the enemy. We must understand precisely and objectively what it means to do battle on both these fronts.

#### Palestinian-Jordanian Agreement

[Question] Do you believe that the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement can be considered a violation of longstanding Palestinian positions?

[Answer] To answer that question we must begin from the current reality of the revolution. In the Palestinian Liberation Front, we believe that the agreement must be viewed from more than one angle. We must be very precise in the political position before we give final approval to the details. In principle, I do not see a just political solution on the horizon. We clearly announced our position in the National Council. As I pointed out, we do not back peace initiatives that do not serve our national rights in Palestine. On this basis, we cannot offer initiatives from our side. If we are upsetting the world and causing concern then the world must present to us initiatives so that we can consider them and then decide if we accept them or reject them. It is not in our interest to present a gift to the world to eliminate its agitation in light of the suffering of our people under the pressure of the occupation.

We indicated clearly that our relations with Jordan must maintain a tone of calmness and not hostility on the condition that these relations do not lead to any kind of sharing with, delegation of or substitution of Jordan to represent the Palestinians. We have announced this position in Palestinian forums, and when the necessity of formulating the shape of relations with Jordan was presented to the Executive Committee of the PLO we reiterated our position, which states that we do not see the possibility of a political solution and that we should not preoccupy ourselves searching for such solutions.

What is required is that we focus more on modifying the balance of power in our interest by maintaining the unity of Palestinian ranks, by rejecting proposals for solutions and by affirming the necessity of developing our relations on the Arab and international levels in a way that will serve our struggle and our fight. We should not inject more disagreement into Palestinian ranks, which only weakens them and leads to exploitation of this position or that to cause more internal rebellion.

Therefore, I can say that we must look at the agreement from a number of angles and not from a single angle. There is an urgent necessity for balanced relations with Jordan. At the same time there is an urgent and fundamental necessity to maintain the unity of Palestinian ranks. There is also a necessity to keep the Palestinian public and our friends from developing doubts about the course of our political action. If we were to discuss the

agreement point by point, this would lead us to erroneous conclusions. We must look at the agreement from the standpoint of principles. Why did this agreement come about? I say that it comes in the course of searching for measures based on the programs of the past that would lead to a political solution. Is a just solution possible now or not? I say that there is no possibility of a just political solution now.

Therefore, we are against anything that will lead to action in this regard, whether it is the Jordanian-Palestinian initiative or something else.

Current circumstances are not conducive at all to moving forward on peace initiatives. The confusion that we are currently suffering from clearly is a result of this formula. We must confront with a realistic and objective understanding the current political phase. This confrontation must stem from a precise understanding of Palestinian, Arab and international realities and, therefore, the Palestinian revolution must do all that it can to stop the weakening of the Palestinian position.

The Executive Committee ratified the Amman agreement by a majority. It is rare that resolutions are passed in the PLO in this way. Usually a decision is made or not made and it is agreed upon or not agreed upon. Even if there is a majority, it comes after some points have been modified and after a clarifying statement has been attached that refers to longstanding political principles which serve as a foundation. If there is a conflict between these political principles and the agreement, then the agreement is nullified.

[Question] Can it be said that there is an agreement of positions on the Amman agreement by Mr Abu-al-'Abbas in both his capacity as a member of the Executive Committee of the PLO and his capacity as deputy secretary general of the Palestine Liberation Front?

[Answer] I participate in the Executive Committee of the PLO as a representative of the Palestine Liberation Front. Therefore, I express the political opinion of the front in PLO forums. The front has positions concerning a settlement and concerning initiatives on various issues. As I said, we express these positions in the National Council and now in the Executive Committee. We struggle to affirm these positions and implement them without forgetting that the PLO is the supreme common body of all organizations of the Palestinian revolution. More precisely, the program of the front is isolated from the program of the PLO and represents the maximum political extent that the front hopes to secure. Our struggle inside the PLO represents the political limit of agreement with our colleagues in the other political organizations who participate in the Executive Committee.

There is now contradiction between participation in the Palestine Liberation Front and the official policy of the PLO. For many years a number of organizations have participated in the PLO on one stage. From time to time the Executive Committee has included Palestinian organizations from all extremes. If we were to review their political positions in detail, we would find that many of them are contradictory. The PLO is a forum that welcomes and expands on unity and discord. We give our opinion clearly as long as it does not exceed the bounds of the political program of the PLO and does not exceed the political convictions of the front.

SYRIA

PREMIER TOURS AL-RAQQA, AL-HASAKAH WATER PROJECTS

Canals, Dams Surveyed

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 25 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] "After today, not one drop of water will be wasted or disappear into the ocean." These are the directives of leader Hafiz al-Asad, they are the decisions of our party and the political leadership, and they are a starting and pivot point for all of our plans and development programs.

For years, these plans and projects have embodied the words which his excellency President Hafiz al-Asad spoke at the ceremony marking the completion of the Euphrates dam project in 1978:

"The task of reclaiming extensive areas, which we have begun, and the realization of social development in these areas, is a task with far-reaching consequences for the life of this country. Our success in this will be a foundation from which to realize an agricultural revolution in all of Syria and to progress in more than one field."

For many years to come, our development plans and projects will continue to revolve around full utilization of the country's water resources, and around land reclamation, transforming land from unirrigated land dependent on rainfall into irrigated land. This will be done in accordance with scientific principles to ensure continued and excellent agricultural results and in accordance with advanced forms of production. This is in every area of our productive country, particularly in areas of the Euphrates basin, in which the political and governmental leaderships have taken a special interest, embodied in the words of the brother leader:

"The bright agricultural future of Syria will spread out from the Euphrates valley, from this area which has suffered from long neglect. Great flourishing will be realized, carrying us great steps toward the desired society...the united, socialist Arab society."

Much has been achieved already in this area, but that which is in the process of implementation and that which will be achieved in the future will be greater. We have the right to be proud of this and to boast of it, of what has been achieved and will be achieved, in spite of technical difficulties. We have realized it, and currently our national technical and engineering cadres are realizing it. They have demonstrated their aptitude and ability without limit.

At the end of this past week, Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm, the prime minister, visited the provinces of al-Raqqah and al-Hasakah and inspected the progress of the work on the irrigation and land reclamation projects in these two provinces. He also dedicated a number of projects which have been completed in the Euphrates basin in al-Raqqah province, which will be the base for bringing tens of thousands of reclaimed hectares into actual agricultural utilization. He also placed a foundation stone at the East and West al-Hasakah dams, and inspected the work progress of al-Khabur irrigation project, which aims to reclaim and irrigate and use agriculturally land in al-Hasakah province, the total area of which amounts to 150,000 hectares.

#### Al-Raqqah Province

In al-Raqqah province, his excellency the prime minister dedicated the lower main canal in al-Balikh, which will draw its water by gravity from Lake al-Asad to irrigate nearly 100,000 hectares in al-Balikh basin, to the north of the city of al-Raqqah. After this, his excellency the prime minister dedicated the Upper al-Salhabiyah canal, which is about 18 kilometers long, and will water about 3,400 hectares of the pioneer project and all of the land of the Bi'r al-Hashim project, which is about 10,000 hectares. He also dedicated the Bi'r al-Hashim water pump.

The prime minister made a field tour of the Bi'r al-Hashim project, the irrigation and drainage network of which has been completed and its land reclaimed and prepared for agricultural use; of the second part of the lower main canal in al-Balikh basin, which will water about 55,000 hectares; and of al-Ba'th dam, being implemented by our national cadres. It is 3 kilometers long and 10 meters wide, with the goal of regulating the flow of the Euphrates river. It forms a lake with a storage capacity of 120 million cubic meters and an annual electricity generating capacity of 370 million kilowatt hours.

#### Al-Hasakah Province

In al-Hasakah Province, Doctor al-Kasm placed a cornerstone at the West and East al-Hasakah dams and the canal which connects them. He inspected the progress of the work on al-Khabur irrigation project as a whole, which aims to irrigate and reclaim 150,000 hectares of agricultural land. His excellency the prime minister had previously placed a cornerstone at some of its representative projects on the left and right main canals near the Ra's al-'Ayn intake.

#### What We Write

In a visit as short as this one, we hesitate over our writing style and what to write. Do we write about our impressions or about our national cadres who take upon themselves responsibility appropriate to implementation of these huge projects, whose costs exceed 7 billion in the province of al-Hasakah alone? Or do we write about the bright future for our country, whose nucleus we are building in the east of the country, which will bring good and plenty to its people and to the nation as a whole? Or do we write about the joy on the faces of our national cadres, covered in dirt and perspiration? Or do we write about the details of building and development,

or about the details themselves, or about the appreciation and pride of those whom we interviewed among the leadership of this country and this nation, who devoted all of their care and attention to the eastern area and its people?

We would be negligent if we limited our writing to any one of these aspects, but our page does not extend limitlessly. Thus we will confine ourselves to some of the more outstanding features of the projects which his excellency the prime minister, Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasm dedicated, or at which he layed a cornerstone, during this visit. In what follows we will refer to the projects on the basis of repeated field tours, and we will give the reader a vivid picture of the building and development which is taking place in this productive and good area of this nation.

### State Farms and Production Cooperatives

Before we talk about these projects, we must mention the form of agricultural exploitation used in the reclaimed areas, determined by law number 3, issued this past year by His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad, which his excellency the prime minister has assured us will be implemented in its entirety. On its basis, the reclaimed lands whose ownership will revert to the state will be exploited in accordance with a progressive system for state farms. The land whose ownership reverts to individuals will be exploited by cooperative production associations. Both forms provide for advanced methods of agriculture and model utilization of agricultural mechanization which we are trying to apply.

Now, what about the projects which his excellency the prime minister dedicated..let us read together.

### Lower Main Al-Balikh Canal to Water 101,000 Hectares

We would not be exaggerating if we said that this canal is one of the most important projects which has been implemented since the construction of the Euphrates Dam. The importance of this canal derives from its drawing water by gravity directly from the Euphrates dam to water land in al-Balikh basin, to the north of the city of al-Raqqah, amounting to 101,000 hectares. When we say "by gravity," we mean that there is no need to pump the water into canals. The importance of this becomes clear when we learn that large electric pumping stations lift water more than 80 meters to water new land in the area of Maskanah in the Euphrates basin. The importance of this canal becomes clear when we learn that it is 104 kilometers long from its source on the left bank of the Euphrates dam to its end, and that its discharge rate is 140 cubic meters per second, a flow equivalent to at least 10 times the flow of the Orontes river.

This canal is composed of three sections:

1. The beginning section of the lower main canal in al-Balikh, which is 18 kilometers long and is "completed."

2. The second section, which is 52 kilometers long and is "under construction."

3. The third section, which is 34 kilometers long and will be "implemented later."

A brief glance at each of these sections follows:

#### The Project for the Beginning Section of the Lower Main Canal in al-Balikh Basin

This project is considered the first section of the lower main canal. It was implemented by the General Company for Land Reclamation. It is 18 kilometers long, with a discharge rate of 140 cubic meters per second at its source at the dam. The width of the canal floor varies between 10.5 meters and 12.5 meters in this section, and depth of the water is 4.86 meters, and the width at the canal's shoulders is 10 meters. The depth of excavation during implementation was 6 meters, with the exception of 1 km whose excavated depth was 40 meters. When the technical design was drawn up for this section, it was planned to build a tunnel through the topographically higher area, from kilometer .6 to kilometer 1.6. However, the agency which designed and supervised the implementation, the General Organization for Land Reclamation, changed this and built an open canal rather than a tunnel.

Due to the difficult geological circumstances which obtained, particularly the gypsum soil and surface hollows which generally result in collapses and breaks in the channel in the event of water seepage, suitable construction methods were considered during planning and implementation. In some areas, a suitable concrete lining was applied. In some places, this was supplemented with PVC plastic sheeting or artificial felt. In many places soil at the foundation was replaced to a depth of at least 2 meters. Steps were also taken to drain away ground water and any water which leaked out. In some areas free of gypsum soil, no lining was used, while in other areas a mixture of clay and cement was injected into the soil.

As we mentioned, the canal will water 101,000 hectares. The first or beginning section of the canal divides into two canals at its end. The first has a discharge of 85 cubic meters per second to feed the next section, or sections 3 and 4, of al-Balikh basin. The second has a discharge of 55 cubic meters per second to water the pioneer project and Bi'r al-Hashim and the left bank of the middle Euphrates.

So that we have a picture of the importance of the project of the beginning section of the canal dedicated by his excellency the prime minister during his visit, we set forth below the magnitude of the operations undertaken in this project.

9.5 million square meters of excavation and earth fill.

24,500 cubic meters of reinforced concrete.



830,000 square meters of concrete lining.

477,000 square meters of PVC sheeting.

871,000 square meters of artificial felt.

30,000 linear meters of 200 millimeter diameter conduit.

#### The Project for the Second Section of the Lower Main Canal

This section is about 52 kilometers long. It is being implemented by the Company for Construction Works. This project aims to water 57,000 hectares in al-Balikh basin. The company began implementation as of 15 April 1984, and completion is expected by 15 April 1987. The cost is expected to be 370 million Syrian pounds in addition to \$16 million worth of imported materials and equipment.

As we mentioned previously, this section is a canal 52 kilometers long which branches from a terminus of the beginning section of the main canal to provide water for the remainder of section 1 and sections 2 and 3 of al-Balikh basin. It will have a discharge rate of 85 cubic meters per second, the water in it will reach a depth of 4 meters, and it will be 10.4 meters wide at the edge.

#### The Third and Final Section of the Lower Main Canal of al-Balikh

This canal is 34 kilometers long, with a discharge rate of 65 cubic meters per second. It will supply water for about 44,000 hectares of reclaimed land by means of siphons crossing al-Balikh river. This canal will connect at its end to another canal 44 kilometers long with a discharge rate of 25 cubic meters per second. This canal is called Shaninah from the name of its location.

This section is not yet being implemented, though sources in the Organization for Land Reclamation say that contracting is currently taking place for its implementation, including implementation of the Shaninah section and reclamation of 26,000 hectares.

#### The Bi'r al-Hashim Reclamation Project

During his visit to al-Raqqah province, his excellency the prime minister agreed to dedicate the Bi'r al-Hashim pumping station. This is a main station which takes water from the Upper al-Salhabiyah canal and raises it to the upper lifting station and then to pumping stations Jarwa, al-Ansar and No 5. The purpose of this station is to water an area of 10,000 hectares embracing the land reclamation project in the Bi'r al-Hashim area. Its cost is estimated to be about 537 million pounds. The General Company for Irrigation Construction--Sarico--implemented this project. Its land is ready for agricultural use following its dedication. The project included the following operations:

--Leveling of 4,066 hectares.

--58.3 kilometers of earth-lined canals.

----120 kilometers of pre-assembled suspended secondary canals.

--352 kilometers of a dirt field (muraw).

--166 kilometers of main and branch drainage canals.

--Various graded roads for a length of 53 kilometers.

Implementation also included transformer stations for power and power lines to the pumping stations. Six villages were established with housing and utilities for drinking water and sewers.

#### The Upper al-Salhabiyah Canal

When the land of the pioneer project--the first land reclamation project in the Euphrates basin--began to be utilized, it covered an area of 19,600 hectares. This area was put to agricultural use from 1972 through 1974. Then, due to the lack of drainage canals and the design company's and implementing company's disregard for the geological complications of the gypsum soil and surface hollows--the two companies at that time being foreign companies--channels of the Upper al-Salhabiyah, which had been designed along with the Bi'r al-Hashim project, collapsed. This caused the withdrawal of 3,400 hectares of land from agricultural utilization.

This collapse warned of the need to devise a method to prevent the future collapse of canals in gypsum soil in projects which had not yet been reclaimed. It pushed the relevant agencies to convene an international conference to study this problem and to undertake research studies and to draw up a solution for the future.

After scientific solutions were reached, it was decided to rebuild this canal on a technical basis assuring its stability by putting down sheets of plastic film to prevent water seepage, along with a procedure of replacing the foundation soil or supplementing it with a concrete lining of individual pre-fabricated concrete slabs.

Indeed, on 20 August 1979, the General Company for Irrigation Construction--Sarico--was commissioned to rebuild this canal, and implementation was undertaken on this basis.

During his visit his excellency the prime minister dedicated this 3,400 hectares of the pioneer project, which was subsequently returned to agricultural use. Water was also channeled to 10,000 hectares in Bi'r al-Hashim. It is worth mentioning that this canal is about 18 kilometers long, with a discharge rate of 17 cubic meters per second and a depth of 3 meters. Its bottom width is 2 meters. It draws its water by gravity from the beginning section of the lower main canal for al-Balikh, about which we have talked previously.



## Al-Ba'th Dam

During his visit to al-Raqqah province, his excellency the prime minister inspected the progress work at the site of al-Ba'th dam, which is being implemented by our national cadres in the General Company for Land Reclamation. The sluices will be finished in the coming days. On this field visit, his excellency the prime minister expressed his great satisfaction with the job accomplished so far.

This dam is intended to regulate the flow of the river which runs from al-Thawrah electrical station, decreasing the fluctuation of the water level to one-half meter as a condition of normal flow, and to utilize the water stored by it to generate approximately 375 million kilowatt hours of electrical power annually.

The main installations of this project are:

An earthen dam on the right bank of the Euphrates river, 350 meters long and 259.2 meters high.

A hydroelectric station 100 meters long, comprised of 3 horizontal units, each capable of 25 megawatts.

An outlet of 8 openings provided with arched gates measuring 14.5 meters by 11.5 meters, in relation to a threshold of 245 meters.

An earthen dam in a course of the river, 700 meters long and 259.2 meters high.

An earthen dam on the left bank of the Euphrates river, 1,600 meters long and 259.2 meters high; counting the bluff next to it, its summit is 258.2 meters high, with a total length of 900 meters.

The dam forms a lake with an area of 27.15 square kilometers during periods of normal storage levels of 256 plus meters, and an area of 23 square meters during periods of lower storage levels of 255 meters plus.

The total volume of customary storage is 90.24 million cubic meters, and the useful control volume is 25 million cubic meters. The average depth of the water is 3.4 meters.

The total cost of the project amounts to 770 million Syrian pounds. Implementation of the project began at the end of 1981 and start-up of the first group of units at the hydroelectric station is expected during 1986.

## Cornerstones Placed

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 25 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] In the productive province of al-Hasakah, which encompasses oil wells and fertile lands, which each year is granted bountiful crops to provide an

important part of the country's food and its factories' basic materials, his excellency the prime minister, Dr 'Abd-al-'Ra'uf al-Kasm, undertook to lay a cornerstone at the East and West al-Hasakah dams and the canal which connects them, and he inspected the progress of al-Khabur irrigation project, which will water 150,000 hectares, at a cost for its installations of more than 7 billion Syrian pounds.

In the following lines, we will present a brief survey of this important project, which amounts to one of the largest agricultural projects in the country after the Euphrates dam.

#### Al-Khabur River Irrigation Project

As we have said already, this project counts as one of the largest agricultural and economic projects, which aims, in its studies and implementation, to water approximately 150,000 hectares in a highly concentrated area of fertile agricultural land extending from the city of Ra's al-'Ayn to the city of al-Suwar in Dayr al-Zawr province. This is by complete utilization of the flow of al-Khabur river and al-Sabab basin, the annual surface supply of which is calculated to be 1.6 billion cubic meters, in addition to the ground water supply, which is estimated to be 400 million cubic meters.

#### Goals of the Project

1. Study and reform of the use of stream and ground water, repairing what might have been exhausted in the future.
2. Social stability and housing development, improving the social situation of the residents by establishing a sufficient number of model villages in the area of the project.
3. Participation in development of food industries.
4. Generation of electrical power.
5. Employment of a large number of the residents, raising the national income by improved use of the irrigated areas.
6. Florescence of animal resources and their by-products.

Also, establishment of systems of canals, irrigation and drainage channels, pumping stations, roads, village sites, artesian wells and other needs of the projects with sufficient topographical and soil investigation activities related to these operations.

#### Parts of the Project

This project includes building 3 reservoirs with a total capacity calculated to be 1 billion cubic meters. They will regulate the storage of water resources from the river, the tributaries, and floods in order to water the available lands and to generate electrical power of about 24 megawatts. This project is comprised of three zones:

### The First Zone

The first zone extends from the springs of Ra's al-'Ayn to the West al-Hasakah dam. Its total irrigated area is estimated to be 52,300 hectares, 31,800 hectares of which are watered by gravity and 20,500 hectares of which are watered by pump. The total cost is estimated to be 2.25 billion Syrian pounds.

This zone draws its water from the springs of Ra's al-'Ayn by means of the left main canal, which is 64 kilometers long with a largest draw of about 45 cubic meters per second to feed pumping stations, and also the right canal, by means of siphon number 2 with a largest draw of 15 cubic meters per second.

### The Second Zone

This zone includes the West al-Hasakah dam and the East al-Hasakah dam and the canal connecting them, as well as the electrical generating station and irrigated land whose area is estimated to be 53,200 hectares, of which 16,000 are watered by gravity and 37,200 by pump. The total cost of this is estimated to be 2 billion Syrian pounds.

#### West al-Hasakah Dam

This dam is 31 meters high, 2,860 meters long, with a storage capacity of 91 million cubic meters and a useful volume of 69 million cubic meters. The lake covers 1,020 hectares.

#### East al-Hasakah Dam

This dam is 25.65 meters high, 2,850 meters long, with a storage capacity of 215 million cubic meters and a useful volume of 190 million cubic meters. The lake covers 3,100 hectares.

### The Third Zone

This area is situated from south of the city of al-Hasakah to the city of al-Suwar in Dayr al-Zawr province. This area includes the al-Khabur dam and irrigated land with a total estimated area of 48,200 hectares, 32,300 of which are watered by gravity and 15,900 by pump. Its total cost is estimated to be 2.075 billion Syrian pounds.

#### Al-Khabur Dam

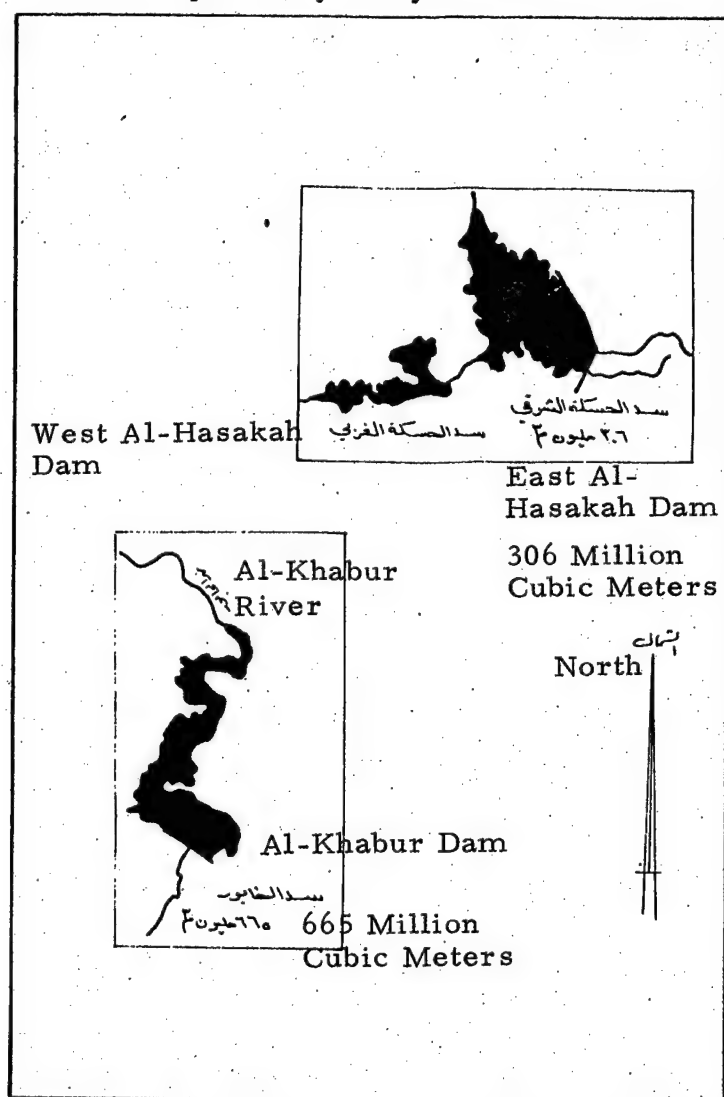
Al-Khabur dam regulates the water which is in excess of the needs of the two areas mentioned previously and the water coming from the electrical power generating station at West al-Hasakah dam, and thus all of the flood waters and the water of (al-Jaghjagh) river.

This dam is 28 meters high, 8,710 meters long, with a storage capacity of 665 million cubic meters and a useful volume of 540 million cubic meters.

The area of the lake is 9,580 hectares, and the electrical generating station has a capacity of 8 megawatts.

#### Schedule of Implementation

In accordance with the implementation schedule prepared for the al-Khabur project, a proposal for implementing the main project on the al-Khabur river near the city of Ra's al-'Ayn has been completed, and a proposal for a number of sections of the project has been completed. It provides for preparing about 350,000 hectares of land for use as well as some 18 megawatts of electrical power generating capacity; this is planned for 1988. This area will increase to cover the first and second zones, with an area estimated to be 105,000 hectares by the year 1995. It is expected that all aspects of the project will be completed by the year 2000.



12780

CSO: 4404/329


AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN SAID TO BE WAGING 'FULL-SCALE WAR' AGAINST SOVIETS

East Burnham ARABIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English May 85 pp 22-24

[Article by Taras Kuzio]

[Text]

 For many years the Soviet press practically ignored the role of their troops in Afghanistan. Moscow felt little compulsion to report a war that may have proved unpopular both at home and abroad. The "limited contingent" (as Moscow calls its occupation force) was therefore played down in the Soviet press, and reports of military activity were confined to the Kabul regime's troops in action against the Mujahideen.

Under Yuri Andropov, in 1983, the Soviet press began to open up about the extent of the fighting and involvement of Soviet troops. The anger within the Red Army at the lack of reporting until then could be seen in a letter written home by a young Russian sergeant: "To be honest I'm surprised at how little is written about Afghanistan and about the Soviet people... often risking their lives."

The Soviet public were being gradually prepared for a long war, which would entail casualties. In early 1983 the army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* admitted that "soldiers and officers do face danger... on the soil of Afghanistan." By December 1983 the same newspaper felt compelled to write that the war was assuming "an all-national character." Peace existed only in those regions where Soviet troops were in control, although even here it was "fragile and unstable." Many newspapers admitted that "a hard struggle is still ahead."

During 1984 the Soviet press became even more daring and admitted that Soviet troops were taking casualties, especially after the Pansjir valley offensive. The general impression given is that the Afghan forces of the communist

regime are fairly useless but are having their backbone stiffened by Soviet resolve, determination and heroism. The Soviets meanwhile, are learning to live with mountain warfare, improving their tactics, learning to manoeuvre in anti-aircraft fire, to avoid ambushes and make joint sorties using helicopters and bombers. However, nowhere is there any mention or suggestion that the Russians themselves have been guilty of atrocities, or of the scale of Soviet casualties. The reports state, that Soviet troops are now involved in a "war," whereas previously they were reported as being involved in brief skirmishes with the Mujahideen.

The severity of the fighting could be seen in the words of one *Pravda* reporter who asked the question "can the positions of the counter-revolution really be this strong?" *Krasnaya Zvezda* has also complained, citing troops in Afghanistan as saying that units were too small to combat guerrillas operating along the main highway north of Kabul to the Soviet border. Soviet soldiers deliberately avoided showdowns with the guerrillas.

Two factors have pushed the authorities into reporting Afghanistan more earnestly. First, the number of casualties has been mounting steadily, especially after the Pansjir operation in the earlier part of 1984. They must have reached such a level that they are too large to ignore.

Western figures of 17,000-20,000 dead and wounded are often regarded as far too low. Soviet deserters in Afghanistan claim that casualty figures are much higher, and one has claimed that rumours circulated in his unit of 100,000 dead and wounded. A report taken from a dead Soviet officer in September 1982 indicates that the truth lies somewhere in between. This report

estimated Soviet losses at between 32,000-42,000. The scale and intensity of the fighting suggests that these are more realistic casualty rates: for example, a Soviet troop-carrying plane returning to the Soviet Union in October last year was shot down by guerrillas near Kabul with the loss of 240 on board.

Although casualties have been mounting in recent years, it was only this year that the first monument was built in Belorussia to a sergeant killed on active service in Afghanistan. A Moscow sales clerk has stated: "According to American radio broadcasts, we have lost 10,000 or 15,000 men in Afghanistan, but I believe that in reality the figure is much higher: maybe 30,000 or 40,000. A friend of mine, who goes out to the freight terminal at Sheremetevo (Moscow airport) almost every day, tells me that a special plane carrying around one hundred coffins lands there every day."

The second factor which has required greater Soviet reporting is the better organisation and equipment now available to the Mujahideen. *Izvestiya*, the Soviet government daily, reported in August 1984 the words of a helicopter pilot in Afghanistan: "Gertsev thought that in Afghanistan he had experienced everything that could fall to a helicopter pilot's lot, but then came the Afghan Army's Pansjir operation. It turned out that everything up to that point had only been training for real military life for the hard work of fighting men." The increased sophistication of Mujahideen weaponry is now featured in the Soviet press, and "helicopters are fired at with anti-aircraft guns, machine guns and automatic weapons." The Soviets' naked fear of the Mujahideen could be seen in one report when a helicopter became "disabled" at a high point in the Pansjir: "They radioed their coordinates. It was a dushman stronghold, an area where the infantry didn't go. The request was for urgent rescue."

Many young people of draft age in the Soviet Union appear afraid to go and fight in Afghanistan, and the absence of open and free reporting has led to widespread rumours and innumerable stories. A 21-year-old Tadzhik soldier, on leave from Mongolia, felt himself lucky to have escaped service in Afghanistan: "Mongolia is better — it's less dangerous. Many people from here have died in Afghanistan. Mothers get telegrams that their sons have been killed and their bodies are being returned." He went on to say: "No one wants war. No one wants to die." Even those young people who have accepted Moscow's view for being in

Afghanistan prefer, nevertheless, to remain at home — Moscow has few "volunteers" for its war and occupation.

Compulsory military service also does not inspire enthusiasm among young people. An official Lithuanian newspaper, the *Peasants Gazette*, has complained that many young people wavered when the time came to choose their future in the army. The new recruits often "experience difficulties in trying to pass the Russian-language entrance exams..." Many deliberately display a low command of Russian, which is essential in the Soviet army. Meanwhile, *Ausra*, a Lithuanian samizdat publication, lamented that "the (Russian) occupying power requires our young men to do military service in other republics, where they themselves are forced to act as the occupying power." Of those sent to Afghanistan, "For three years, as officials themselves state, up to 30 per cent of the army perished or was wounded."

The Soviet authorities also have increasing problems of demobilised soldiers returning home after serving in Afghanistan trying to re-adjust to civilian life. A recent Estonian samizdat publication entitled *Isekiri (Self-Letter)* has interviewed one of these returnees who violated, by doing so, his written oath not to discuss his military activities. He, like most young conscripts of his age was very much affected by the war, and described how, "For a general punishment operation, the tactics were basically the same. Upon entering a village all even slightly suspicious individuals were to be immediately shot... Generally all men who appeared capable of fighting were considered suspect... Similarly, all those individuals whose appearances aroused suspicion were shot, for example, people (women) clothed in a chador..."

Meanwhile, in the villages, "everyone who came before us was to be shot... You must always fire. Whether there are people or not, it doesn't matter". The interviewed soldier described Soviet policy as a "strategy of terror", and firing was often indiscriminate with soldiers "transformed into complete savages." Soviet troops acted in the following manner: "Sometimes, when death is behind and before you, you will shoot, you will fire, and in this savage storm you will yourself begin to scream as if you lost your mind... as if to give yourself some courage."

The Soviet army, in the words of Konstantin Chernenko, "comprises members of all nationalities of the USSR." Often Soviet reporting on

Afghanistan has pointed out the multinational nature of Soviet units. *Krasnaya Zvezda* reported that: "We serve in Afghanistan. Thousands of kilometres separate my fellow servicemen — Major A Kovalev of Belorussia, First Lt O Proklov of Siberia, Pvt K Dzhurabayev of Uzbekistan, Pvt M Lordkipandidze of Georgia, and other sons..." Although the Soviet press plays on this theme of the involvement of all Soviet nationalities in fighting in Afghanistan, it is clear that the war is the most unpopular in the non-Russian republics, and among non-Russian conscripts. Whereas Russians only make up 50 per cent of the population, they account for 80 per cent, or more, of the officers in the Red Army. *Pravda* put it precisely when it claimed that, "the great Russian people by rights have been and remain the backbone of the fraternal relations of all our country's nations and nationalities."

Although the Soviet press would like to make us believe that all the Soviet nationalities are equally represented in the Red Army, this is not the case. Combat units are dominated by Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians, who account for 80 per cent of troops. Non-combat troops, on the other hand, are heavily dominated, in the region of 70-90 per cent, by Central Asians and Caucasian peoples (most of them Muslim). Central Asian conscripts are perceived by Moscow as potentially disloyal, and are therefore assigned to construction units or the Ministry of Interior security units. The construction units account for 1.5 million men, and represent a vast pool of forced labour. Committee for State Security (KGB) border guards are overwhelmingly Russian — the most trusted nationality in the USSR.

The problem the Soviet authorities are now facing is that the growth rate of the Russian, and other European nationalities, is very low compared to that of the Muslim peoples. During the 1970s the increase in Muslim population of the USSR was 25 per cent, three times higher than the 6 per cent increase for all three Slavic nationalities. By the end of the century Muslim-Turkic conscripts will account for between 23.5 and 28.7 per cent of the Soviet army. It will, therefore, be increasingly difficult for the Soviet authorities to continue assigning Central Asians to non-combat units. In order to offset this, medical requirements for new recruits have already been dropped. In the

words of one Russian: "Nobody feels safe anymore. There's been nothing like it since the war."

When Soviet forces first invaded Afghanistan in December, 1979, nearly all the divisions came from the Turkestan military district. In peace time most divisions are only at 50 per cent strength, and, as in the case of Afghanistan, were filled with local reserves. Moscow also thought that the use of Central Asian troops would blunt the impact of the invasion both inside Afghanistan, and in the rest of the world.

The use of Muslim troops from Central Asia was a total failure, and by March, 1980 most had been sent home. Many exchanged their arms for Qurans and told the Afghans to continue to resist. Two deserters recounted how when they were sent to Afghanistan in 1980, there were 106 Tadzhiks in their unit: "They all refused to fight and they were sent home... A lot of Tadzhiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen were sent back. A few were shot on the spot but most were returned to the Soviet Union." Another teenager, in a village near Dushanbe in Soviet Central Asia, stated that "people here don't like to go to Afghanistan because they are Muslims too." An 18-year-old in the Dushanbe bazaar admitted that if he had been sent he would have "joined the basmachi."

During the course of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan many Soviet soldiers have defected — in contrast to Vietnam where not a single American did. Many defected because as Muslims they refused to kill those of their own religion and nationality. Many Central Asians who have defected have converted to Islam in captivity, and others have joined the Mujahideen in military operations. Some students from Central Asia have also reportedly run away from their studies to join the guerrillas, whereas many Afghans owe their lives to Soviet Tadzhik and Uzbek troops. Private Sergei Zhigalin, a Russian deserter, had trained in the Turkmen republic, and had been told there that Uzbeks and Turkmen no longer are sent to Afghanistan, "because they have an affinity with the local people."

Another reason for deserting is the rampant racism prevalent in the Soviet army, where the Central Asian conscripts are labelled as "blacks." Hostility is very high between Central Asians and Russian officers. Sergei Busov, another deserter, has stated that racial abuse was common in his unit, and "if the majority of the



company are Russians, they beat up the soldiers from the southern republics." Another defector, Vladislav Naumov, claims Russian officers use a policy of "divide and rule", whereby "commanding officers often take advantage of this to maintain order and discipline." Most officers were Russian, Naumov claimed, and "they behaved very badly towards Central Asians." Racial abuse reached such levels that "sometimes Tadjik soldiers will even capture a Russian officer and kill him."

On the whole non-Russians are more opposed to the war, and this is especially true of Lithuanians, Estonians and Ukrainians from the western regions of their republic. Two defectors noticed that western Ukrainians, "befriended the Muslims and opposed the Soviet leadership. Some have voluntarily crossed to the side of the Mujahideen." The occupation of Afghanistan is highly unpopular in western Ukraine. A recent issue of the samizdat journal, *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, reported that a nationalist underground group was collecting documentary evidence on Russian brutality and actions in Ukraine, as well as in Afghanistan and Angola. Ukrainian officers serving in the Soviet army were arrested a few years ago for participation in an attempt on the life of the late minister of defence, Marshal Ustinov.

The level of desertions from the Soviet occupation army in Afghanistan is quite high. Many reasons account for this: low morale, unwillingness to kill civilians, racism, officer brutality, poor food and conditions, rampant drug abuse and a general dislike of the Soviet regime. Desertions are not solely confined to non-officers though. A Ukrainian captain, Alexander Siddelyniko, deserted because of dissatisfaction with the war, inability to return on leave to the USSR and the arbitrary habit of extending your tour of duty. He had been stationed at the Bagram air base, where soldiers "complain about mismanagement in the army", and "officers openly talk about their discontent, and ask, for what purpose did we come here?"

Soviet conscripts are told that they are being sent to Afghanistan to help the Afghans defend themselves against Pakistani, Chinese and American mercenaries. This they find to be untrue after one day inside the country. Nikolai Movchan, a Ukrainian sergeant who deserted, described how: "One day I was on guard duty. An officer pointed to a small village and said that fifty of the

enemy lived there. But when I looked I saw only plain, common folk — simply village folk. Our big country has invaded this small country, and the people have risen up against us."

Another deserter, Dimitrevich Zacharov, claimed, "there is not only lack of enthusiasm for service in Afghanistan, but also total lack of loyalty to those in command and to the government itself." Alexei Roschupkin, meanwhile, stated that: Our biggest problem? It is not the food, the money or the battles themselves... It is the permanent uncertainty. We never know when the rebels will attack. We are attacked everywhere, even inside the garrisons."

A Tadjik deserter, Garik Dzumalbekov, claimed that the troops "know that fighting here makes no sense. They know that they are not doing this for the homeland. They know very well that, if they left, this regime would fall." Soviet troops resent their actions because they are made to feel as if they are the Nazis occupying Afghanistan, and compare themselves to the Germans in the second world war.

Officers told them that it did not matter if Afghans were killed, for they "were savages, almost madmen." Officers claimed that the guerrillas did not take prisoners, and merely tortured and then killed them. Even this propaganda has failed to convince many soldiers, for many of them have still deserted. Naumov described the mood of the Soviet soldier in Afghanistan as follows: "The first thing that strikes one is total indifference. This indifference can be noticed in combat, in one's treatment of military technology. Of course, the soldiers are unhappy with the war and with Afghanistan on the whole."

After five years in Afghanistan Moscow can still not claim any success. Opposition to the war is growing inside the USSR itself, desertions are high, casualties are mounting, the wounded and demobilised are having an influence at home. People are listening to the real news about Soviet action in Afghanistan from non-Soviet radio broadcasts, many of them messages by deserters who want to encourage opposition back home. In the words of Naumov, "I believe that if this continues much longer, the results will be very costly for those who have cooked up this mess. It seems to me that the soldiers need only some officer leaders to turn their arms in the other direction. What is needed is only a beginning and then, I think the soldiers themselves will start joining the insurgents."

What, then, will Moscow report in its press?



AFGHANISTAN

CLOSE SURVEILLANCE MAKES REPORTING DIFFICULT

Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Apr 85 p 16

[Article by Anita Rind]

[Text] "Can anybody really deliver a true report under conditions like these?" Daniel Cattelain, a reporter for Sygma Television, asks this question at the end of the report he brought back from Afghanistan, and which is carried on Antenne 2's "Magazine" show. His main concern is with honesty: the Afghan authorities, he tells us, did not "let him alone for a single instant." The record he offers us, nevertheless, shows us images rarely if ever seen.

It was on the eve of the celebrations marking the 7th anniversary of the "April revolution" that Daniel Cattelain arrived in Kabul. Seven years have passed and we see the extent to which the Soviets, who pushed into the country in December 1979, are completely at home today.

The Soviet occupation tends to shun the limelight. The townspeople swell with importance as they stand in front of a foreign camera and reel off, by rote, the catechism of propaganda methodically pounded into their heads. Yet, behind the apparent calm and serenity, impromptu street scenes the camera catches on the wing insidiously give the lie to this "ambience of peace" the rulers love to boast about: there are soldiers everywhere, there are the armored vehicles that endlessly rumble through the main streets of Kabul and whose heavy-treaded passage blends with incessant chop of the helicopters that, beginning at dawn, take off in flights of ten toward the combat zones.

Surprisingly, Daniel Cattelain was allowed to tour and film a petrochemical plant at Mazar-e-Sharif, 400 kilometers to the north of Kabul. It is an oil and natural gas field, heavily fortified and monitored from watch-towers, and it is the starting-point for a pipeline leading directly to the USSR. A few kilometers away is a village where the Soviet technicians who work at the plant live with their families in total autarchy.

The influence of the occupiers shows through again in the sequence in which a prisoner delivers a speech lauding the glories of the "revolution" so flatly and mechanically as to suggest his having been brainwashed. This is none other than Abdoul Wahed, once right-hand man to the "rebel" Mas'ud, who controls the Panjshir Valley. The Soviet presence seeps through as well at a day nursery, where little children, tightly organized and carefully coached, repeat sing-song slogans beneath a portrait of Chernenko. This is a television report made up of a succession of brief instants, but whose resonance carries very far.

AFGHANISTAN

RESISTANCE SEEN FROM INSIDE, OUTSIDE

Chief Cites 8 Years' Combat

Bordeaux SUD-OUEST in French 21 May 85 p 2

[Interview with Amine Wardak, traditional chief -- civil and military commander -- of Wardak Province, by Josette Degos; date and place unspecified]

[Text] Turbanned, his traditional tunic topped with a camouglage jacket, Amine Wardak pleads his country's cause. In fluent, soft-spoken French which he learned in Kabul, he tells us how things stand after his 8 years underground and in combat: "Yes, this is my 6th year against the Soviets, but my 8th for the Afghans."

[Question] The seven major Afghan resistance organizations have just announced their new alliance, from Peshawar. There has been talk of it, though, for 3 years.

[Answer] There has always been coordination, ever since the start of the war. But we had no telephones, no radio: the regions are extremely isolated, and our Mujahidin runners kept us in touch.

This new alliance guarantees each party's identity as a party, but there will be only one international spokesman for the resistance and for military coordination in the interior.

[Question] Isn't this a problem of individuals, of local chiefs with overbearing personalities?

[Answer] We are a land of provinces and tribes, each of which must have its own chief. In your country, there are several generals. Here, too, because the war is everywhere and it is impossible to achieve any closer unity under current conditions in Afghanistan.

[Question] The United States has promised considerable aid. That is something new.

[Answer] First of all, the Western press announced military aid from the United States amounting to \$280 million. Congress, however, has not yet voted on the proposal. Next came news of some humanitarian aid for the hinterlands. We still do not know, however, through what channels it will come. For us, this is not clear at all.

[Question] Would Kabul agree to your getting it?

[Answer] We have already received three tractors [gift of the 21 June association, of which Mme Danielle Mitterrand is a member. ] which will be of great help to the farmers. They came in through Pakistan. They are out there on the farms now, working.

[Question] How much longer do you think you can hold out?

[Answer] As long as there is a drop of blood left in our bodies: The Soviets are turning Afghanistan into a complicated war and Afghans into a people dead set against development. In Wardak Province, we have hospitals permanently staffed by French and American doctors; we have schools, training centers, a newspaper, and a post office. We are organizing our agriculture and mounting vaccination campaigns.

[Question] We know that the Soviets are sending Afghan children to the USSR, where they will be trained as party cadres.

[Answer] Their strategy is to sovietize peoples at every level. Our strategy is to offer home-grown development, in freedom and independence.

[Question] Don't you risk imminent clashes with the extremist Afghan opposition, trained in the "Iranian" style?

[Answer] That is merely Soviet propaganda. We are true muslims. We are not extremists, we are not pro-Khomeyni. If we were, how would we be getting foreign aid?

[Question] How does Afghanistan's problem look to you now, from the vantage-point of Paris?

[Answer] I sensed, throughout this journey to foreign countries, that the people of the West are afraid of the USSR. They organized demonstrations over Abouchar, they would not back down, and they won. Why didn't they keep that up?

## View From Operating Room

Bordeaux SUD-OUEST in French 11 May 1985 p A

[Text] With two doctors and another nurse, Elisabeth Reglat, a young (24 year old) nurse from Baza last year helped set up an advance surgery team of Doctors Without Borders in Northern Afghanistan. After a clandestine trek across country that took 23 days, the team reached Mazar-e-Sharif, and stayed almost a year in the mountains with the Afghan resistance.

"Escorted by some 30 Mujahidin, with mules to carry the medical equipment, we sneaked across the Pakistani border near Miran Shah on 19 May 1984. Roger, a 29-year-old doctor from Marseilles, was on his fourth mission to Afghanistan; Serge, a 32-year-old doctor from Paris, Marguerite, a 31-year-old nurse from Nice, and I were setting foot in this country for the first time.

"After a 4-day march, we were within sight of the plain of Zormat, southwest of Kabul, which is controlled by government troops based at Gardez, some 15 kilometers away.

"We had waited until nightfall to begin our crossing of that plain. That meant 12 hours of riding in the open. In small groups, we had just begun to move out when two helicopters buzzed us. We had made the mistake of setting out before it was fully dark. For 45 minutes, the helicopters strafed the area with machinegun fire. I spurred my mare into a thicket. I was so frightened, though, that I didn't have time to hitch her, and she ran away, carrying, among lesser things, our photographic equipment.

"One of the Mujahidin had caught a bullet in the foot. But the mule, carrying all the first aid equipment, had gone ahead with an earlier group, and that man died half an hour later.

"We reformed our group, but we no longer had time to cross the Zormat plain. We knocked on doors and the Afghans, after some hesitation, agreed to shelter us for the night and until nightfall next day. We struck out again the following night.

### Twenty-three Days on the Train

"We arrived at Zachi, a cluster of 10 villages clinging to the mountainside 80 kilometers south of Mazar-e-Sharif, in Nord Province, the richest in all Afghanistan, after 23 days on the train, without further difficulties... except the problem of finding bread for the whole crew: we had arrived just in time for Ramadan.

"We were immediately welcomed and brought into the everyday lives of the mountain people. We shared rice, slept on the ground, learned their language, Farsi, and in exchange gave them some lessons in English.

While waiting for the hospital to be built, the tribal chief and head of the resistance in Nord Province, Zabihullah, found us quarters in what had been a school, where we saw our first patients. A great many Afghans were ill with tuberculosis or skin diseases.

"As for clashes between the resistance and the government troops supported by the Russians, who controlled Mazar-e-Sharif, they occurred farther to the North. Arms and legs shattered, bodies riddled with bullets, the wounded reached Zachi only after several hours or even days on the march.

"In October we moved into a hospital built on the side of the mountain, in a 20-kilometer-long defile. It had six rooms (one examination room for men and another for women, a pharmacy, one hospital ward for men and another for women, as well as a classroom for training Afghan medics), beside a little house for our medical team. The Afghans had also dug three caves into the rock where we could take shelter in case of shelling, and where we could store medication and surgical instruments. We operated on the casualties as they lay on mats spread on the ground. We had had no time to rig up operating tables. Several women even came to the hospital to deliver their babies.

"Our mission was over in December, and we were waiting for the next Doctors Without Borders team to relieve us. But they never seemed to come.

Snow

"Besides that, we had had no news from Zabihullah, who was supposed to sign some papers which would allow us, through the resistance network, to get back to Pakistan. We later learned, from Radio France Internationale, that his jeep had hit a mine. When that news came, other resistance people took us over.

"Then, all of a sudden, we were warned that the government troops were approaching Zachi. In less than 30 hours, the wounded, the ill, and the medical equipment were evacuated. We headed south in the snow, just as a hundred or so tanks and armored vehicles were rumbling in.

"It was during that panic that we ran into the relief team. They brought us letters from our families. That was on 31 December. They had also retrieved the radio transmitter my mare had been carrying when she bolted. She had been found by an Afghan who had tried to sell her at the horse market in Miran Shah, Pakistan, but Afghan resistance people had stolen her back. The photographic equipment was gone for good. Since then, that mare has returned to service in the Afghan resistance.

"We stayed 2 months with the new team before returning to Pakistan through the ruins of bombed or burned Afghan villages, and then to Paris at the end of April.

"We had signed on for 8 months in Afghanistan. We were there a year."

6182

CSO: 4619/54

AFGHANISTAN

ARTICLE EXAMINES STEPS ON PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 30 Mar 85 pp 1, 3-4

/Text/ The following article contains the salient points of the resolution issued recently by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Council of Ministers of the DRA point out that the successful solution to the issues which have been discussed in the action program and the principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by the PDPA and the government of the DRA, and also according to the suggestions, hints and cues from the statements made by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council as regards the growth of material and cultural lives of the people, the provision of continually improved medical services and public health in general plays the most significant role in this process.

As a result of the inhumane policies of the reactionary regimes of the past, until the advent of the Sawr revolution, masses of millions of toiling people were deprived of health services. Nondevelopment of the nation's health service to the required level had put our country at the lowest level of international health standards.

Under the leadership of the party and the revolutionary government after the victory of the revolution, some fundamental and important steps toward the growth of public health and the provision of improved hygienic services have been put into effect. The public health laws have been implemented in the DRA, the network of health institutions have increased, the number of beds in the hospitals have increased more than 80 percent and there has been a 45 percent increase in the number of doctors.

Some of the prevention and treatment institutions are harnessed with medical accouterments and furnishings and there are experienced cadres working and carrying out their duties there.

The financial aid to public clinics will be increased, health centers will be built, and in most of the industrial and educational institutions maternity centers will be expanded. There will be an increase in the provision and preparation of medicines for hospitals and pharmacies, and blood will be provided free of charge to those who are in need of it.

For the first time the sanitary and epidemiological services have been provided in the country. In the city of Kabul, a medical emergency center has been opened, the government Medical Institute of Kabul has been established and the Scientific Society of Doctors of the DRA has been formed.

In order to receive patients during non-office hours in Kabul hospitals, maternity centers and other relevant institutions throughout the city in the last quarter of the year 1363 /21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985/ have been properly equipped with adequate medical equipment and medical personnel teams which are comprised of highly educated members and some medium-level professionals.

For the purpose of improving child care health services, 20 maternity hospitals have been created in the city of Kabul with one government hospital for children. Each year more than one million vaccines for the entire population of the country is distributed.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Council of Ministers of the DRA also point out that despite the existing accomplishments and the success of certain attainments, the growth of public health throughout the country is slow and as far as the needs and ever-increasing demands of the country is concerned, this enterprise is far behind. The main reason for such inadequacy is that the resolution of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Council of Ministers of the DRA regarding the formation and strengthening of public health fundamentals, the improvement of the provision of health services for the people, particularly the provision of health services for women, children and their mothers by the Ministry of Public Health and other ministries and departments of the DRA, party committees, local organs and all the related government departments in the provinces are not duly implemented.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA and its relevant organs throughout the nation have not taken proper measures to fight contagious and communicable diseases and the matter of establishing or organizing a diagnostic system equipped with laboratories and medical technology is not duly pursued. Proper decisions are not made to improve the activities and conditions of the treatment and preventive care center and to make medical services available to the people; moreover, adequate attention is not paid to the correct use or completion of medical institutions as far as clinical assistance is concerned.

Likewise, proper attention is not given to the sanitary situation throughout the cities and habitable neighborhoods, hospitals, polyclinics, schools and industrial institutions by the Ministry of Public Health, other ministries, party committees' departments, social organizations and Kabul's local and municipal authorities.

Seriously the people throughout the country are faced with a shortage of potable water and in many areas the surface and subterranean waters are polluted



by impure and dirty waters. In most of the provinces there is no sanitary, epidemiological or bacteriological laboratories. Transfer and distribution of sufficient medicines throughout the nation is not satisfactory and there is no control over the price or the method of sale.

By the same token, there are deficiencies in the formation of proper organization and provision of medical help in productive institutions, schools and kindergartens; while the present system of house-calls for patients and the creation of medical emergency assistance in the towns and villages also face serious shortages.

There are certain inadequacies facing the growth and expansion of maternity hospitals, children's health care centers, and institutions dealing with contagious and tubercular diseases. Still, the hospitals throughout the provinces are functioning under or below capacity and full use is not made of the existing beds. Most of the health centers which have been destroyed by the savage counterrevolutionaries have yet to be revitalized and the present active health centers are lacking sufficient medical cadres.

Additionally, no serious decisions have been made to establish governmental pharmacies, centers for the preparation and production of medicines, particularly disinfectants or antiseptics, vaccines and similar products.

As regards familiarizing and educating the general public with sanitary environments, particularly in the provinces, subprovinces or villages, the efforts are not adequate. Likewise, the hygienic policies are not adapted in an orderly fashion among the public health employees, students, professors and university students. Also proper attention is not paid to the creation of a normal social condition for medical personnel. Other ministries and departments of the DRA do not participate in the activities of the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA, particularly in the area of the prevention of contagious or other communicable diseases which can be transmitted in the work environment.

The performance of assigned duties regarding the registration of births and deaths leaves a lot to be desired. Similarly, the dispatch of medical cadres to districts, subdistricts and hamlets is carried out in a very disorderly way and seldom happens.

Medical educational institutions do not impart the necessary public health knowledge to the specialized individuals, particularly the medical cadre who act as go-betweens.

As a result of the spread of infectious and communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, some forms of indigestion and stomach disorders, trachoma, typhoid, diphtheria, tetanus or addiction to narcotics and alcohol, and so forth a lot of deaths will occur, especially the death of young children and mothers.



The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Council of Ministers of the DRA with regard to the future growth of public health and improvement, prevention and protection of public health hereby approves that:

- The government Planning Committee, the Ministry of Public Health, other ministries and departments of the DRA, party committees, local organs, social organizations and all government institutions should consider the adoption and implementation of an extensive government program for the years 1364 - 1369 /21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986 to 21 March 1990 - 20 March 1991/ which concerns certain specified areas which are mentioned below as one of their basic social and political duties.
- Improvement and growth of the provision of future health services, primarily the protection of the general public against diseases, so that health services which are provided by the government will be put at the disposal of the people of Afghanistan.
- Extension and expansion of networks of health institutions, particularly in the villages.
- Creation of health institutions with medical personnel and professional cadres.
- Expansion of future gratis medical assistance.
- Reinforcement or strengthening of the material and technical base of hygienic services.
- Provision of adequate medicine for the people with due regard to an orderly production and distribution system.
- Creation of suitable systems for the improvement of the quality of treatment aids and preventive medicine for the people, particularly the young children of the country and mothers.
- Growth and expansion of primary and secondary health centers.
- Fight against contagious and communicable diseases in order to control their spread.
- Creation of dispensaries for the public, especially women, young children, mothers, workers and employees of industrial, agricultural and governmental organizations.
- All the ministries and the departments of the DRA, party committees, social organization, Kabul Municipality, local organs and governmental offices should study the existing conditions with regard to the adaptation of the tasks and duties which have been considered for public health in the resolution of the

People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the DRA for a period of one month and take practical steps in eliminating the inadequacies and accordingly implement the suggestions put forth in the resolution.

- The Ministry of Public Health of the DRA is charged with the following duties:

A- The government Planning Committee of the DRA jointly with the Ministry of Justice of the DRA, other ministries and relevant departments, party committees, local organs and governmental offices will discuss and make the necessary plans regarding the following specific areas and propose them to the Council of Ministers of the DRA:

- Expedient plans regarding the improvement of the situation in sanitary and epidemiological centers in the country with a view to the fact that the creation of these centers in various zones and provinces which are supposed to get such facilities could be finished by 1364 and 1365.

- Design and adaptation of national programs in order to solve the main public health problems of the nation during the years 1364 - 1369.

- Adopting solutions to the problems regarding the protection and safety of the child and mother in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

- Adopting rules to control production and distribution of medicines throughout the country.

- Adopting rules regarding the establishment of government health centers in private and semi-private institutions, and the standardization of the rules for the medical cadres which will be performing their duties in these institutions.

- Adopting rules regarding the regular and systematic control of the work performance in the nation's health institutions.

- Creation of new measures to revitalize the hospitals, the primary and subsidiary health centers /which have been destroyed by the counterrevolutionary elements/ in the cities, towns and villages.

B- Completing and furnishing the treatment and preventive medical care centers with the necessary medical accouterments and instruments, and providing them with the indispensable medicines, doctors and medium-level medical personnel during the period 1364 - 1369.

- In order to provide emergency treatment and preventive care, sanitary and epidemiological centers in the districts, subdistricts and villages throughout the country in the years 1364 - 1366, the mobile medical brigades should be organized according to the annual plans for the provinces.

- Increase the power of the authorities and the relevant personnel of the central operation headquarters for reorganizing the treatment and preventive care centers and make them able to cope with the level of demands to improve the quality of their health-related responsibilities. Likewise, appropriate measures should be taken to improve the selection process and effective promotion and enhancement of the performance of the duties of the medical cadres in the relevant institutions, particularly in the ambulatory, gynecology and pediatrics polyclinics, sanitary and epidemiological centers.

C- In a joint effort with the Ministry of Education, other ministries and departments of the DRA, party committees, local organs and government offices proper measures should be taken to increase the level of the teachers' responsibility regarding children's hygiene and sanitary education. Likewise, steps should be taken in order to establish and expand health centers and enhance the necessary conditions for technical sanitary centers in the kindergartens and schools and to improve the treatment and preventive care and assistance to the children who attend these centers.

- Securing a better growth for the medical-assistance network centers in the industrial, educational and cooperatives and similarly providing them with the necessary cadres, medical instruments and furnishings. Other ministries and government departments with proper agreement from the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA as regards the abovementioned goals will provide suitable quarters equipped with proper equipment and furnishings and take appropriate and active measures in the preparation of medicines, and medical accouterments. In a like manner, they should support the activities of the health institutions which are serving the employees of these relevant organizations. Similarly, the party committee should provide supervision and control the transfer of assistance and organizing of the affairs.

D- In a joint endeavor with the government Planning Committee and the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education of the DRA within Kabul's governmental medical institute, establish the pediatrics college in 1364 and in 1366 the sanitary and hygienic college should be established.

- More attention should be given to accepting local cadres for higher and medium-level medical institutions.

- In a joint venture with the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education of the DRA and the Ministry of Education of the DRA the educational programs of high school students and the students of the higher education institutions should be planned based on medical knowledge and experimentally be put into operation in 1365. In a like fashion, the program of study of Kabul's University, the Pedagogic and the Polytechnic Institutes of Kabul should include medical instruction courses as of 1364.

- For the purpose of complete and effective utilization of the funds which are assigned by international and other organizations to implement medical

programs and train medical cadres, necessary decisions should be made; and likewise, regular effort should be made so that such aids can be increased.

- With an eye to improving the performance of the Medical Scientific Society of the DRA and expanding the relations of this society with similar societies in brotherly socialist countries and other friendly nations, the appropriate decisions regarding the enhancement of the doctors' level of performance should be made and put into effect.

- The government Planning Committee of the Ministry of Public Health, the Ministry of Public Works of the DRA and Kabul's Municipality should foresee the following issues in the social and economic growth plan of the DRA for the years 1364 and 1365:

- Construction of four blocks for a tuberculosis hospital, a maternity ward, a hospital for contagious diseases and a center for the treatment of invalids. In addition, study the production of house-building factories which utilize the new design for the construction of schools and dormitories /two 600-students schools and two 200-unit dorms/.

- Making up for lost time in the construction of the Central Polyclinic of Kabul city, the blood bank of Kabul city, the 200-bed hospital of Herat and revitalization of the health centers throughout the provinces of the country.

The Ministry of Public Health of the DRA, Kabul's Municipality, party committees, local organs and government offices are dutybound to:

- Take proper measures for the expansion of the network of governmental pharmacies in the city of Kabul and other provinces of the country. At least one regularly active governmental pharmacy should be established in each province beginning in 1364; to this end, there should be 13 governmental pharmacies. During 1365-1369 there should be at least 90 new governmental pharmacies established throughout Kabul and other provinces.

- The Ministry of Public Health of the DRA should provide the governmental pharmacies with the necessary equipment and medicines and complete their required number of medical personnel.

- From the beginning of the year 1364 the Kabul's Municipality, the local organs and government offices should put fairly usable quarters for establishing pharmacy stores at the disposal of the Ministry of the Public Health of the DRA; moreover, for the purpose of building new governmental pharmacies they should also provide the abovementioned ministry with parcels of land in suitable communities.

The Defense and Transport Ministries of the DRA and the General Civil Aviation Department of the DRA should provide comprehensive help to the Ministry of

Public Health for the transport of medical employees and the transportation of medicines, vaccines and equipment for institutions in charge of treatment and preventive care.

- The government Planning Committee and the Ministry of Commerce of the DRA should take practical and speedy measures to provide as much dry milk as possible for infants, poverty-stricken and indigent families in the city of Kabul and other provinces of the country. And they should take proper measures to increase the dry milk quota of the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA to an equivalent amount of 50 tons from the beginning of the year 1364.

Regarding the issues which require a government's resolution, proper proposals should be made to the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

- The Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education of the DRA and the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA in a joint effort with relevant authorities should investigate the matter of training medical cadres with high and medium levels of education both inside the country and abroad during the years 1364-1369 with due regard to the increasing needs of public health and present their proposals to the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

- The government Planning Committee of the DRA and the Ministries of Mines and Industries and Public Health of the DRA should study the possibility of producing the necessary amount of antiseptics required for the public health and sanitation during the first quarter of 1364 and present their specific proposals on the matter to the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

- The Ministries of Communications, Electrical Energy, Irrigation and Water Resources, and Transport of the DRA in a joint effort with the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA should take proper measures to provide the centers which are assigned to the health of women and children (pediatrics and gynecology wards) with telephones, electricity, motorized transport and sufficient quantity of drinking water and implement their decisions within six months.

- The government Planning Committee, the Ministries of Irrigation and Water Resources, Public Works, and the Public Health of the DRA in a joint effort with the municipalities and the government departments of the provinces should take proper steps for the improvement and provision of drinking water for the inhabitants of the cities and villages of the country through the excavation and construction of deep wells, pumping stations, networks of water distribution and canals. Similarly, they should foresee the necessary refining facilities for the social and economic growth plans of the DRA for the year 1364 and the following years; it is understood that the party committees will practically aid and control the process of execution of the measures stated above.

- In order to improve the utilization of the existing equipment and network of water distribution and canals, the Kabul's Municipality and other municipalities are dutybound in 1364 within the framework of the responsibilities

of municipalities to provide protection, and utilization services for the networks stated above. In order to prevent stagnant waters from pollution by the sewers or polluted waters from industrial or economic outlets, the necessary measures should be made and presented for approval to the public health organs no later than the 22d of June 1985.

The Ministry of Public Health of the DRA and its sanitary and epidemiological centers in various communities should control the implementation of sanitary measures throughout the provinces and cities of the country, and they should deal with those individuals who violate the execution of the aforementioned measures according to the law.

- For the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the fight against diseases common to both men and animals and preventing the recurrence of such diseases, the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform of the DRA should in 1364 take additional steps to put these measures into effect continually.
- The government Planning Committee of the Ministries of Finance, Public Health and the government Committee of Work and Social Security of the DRA should take proper steps regarding the following measures:
  - Implementation of the provision of free health-related ambulatory, polyclinic and in-patient services for all the people.
  - Improving provision of furnishings for relief or health institutions.
  - Financially rewarding and encouraging medical employees who are serving in such professional areas as x-ray, physiotherapy, maternity wards, medical emergency aids, sanitary and epidemiological centers.
  - Establishment of medical cadres throughout the provinces and improvement of their living conditions. All the proposals regarding the abovementioned measures should be prepared together with the social and economic and government budgetary plans for the year 1364 in conjunction with the basic plans for economic and social growth of the DRA for the years 1365-1369 and duly presented to the Council of Ministers.
- All the ministries and government departments of the DRA in a joint effort with the Central Council of the Guild Unions of the DRA together with the responsible officials of institutions should take proper sanitary and preventive measures regarding the health and hygienic issues concerning all the workers, employees and particularly their women workers and younger employees. Likewise, they should take steps regarding the accidents which could happen in the course of production work and properly coordinate their efforts with the medical organs and institutions in order to execute the treatment, preventive, sanitary and anti-epidemiological measures.
- In order to coordinate the activities of the Ministries of Public Health with

those of other ministries, departments and institutions of the DRA as regards the provision of treatment, preventive, sanitary and anti-epidemiological services for women and children, the Council of Ministers of the DRA under the guidance of the deputy to the Council of Ministers, should create the Council of Coordination with the participation of the representatives from other ministries and government departments of the DRA for the protection of mother and child.

- The government Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance of the DRA should foresee the following issues:

- In a joint effort with the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA and other ministries and relevant departments, proper measures regarding the social, economic and government budgetary plans for the year of 1364 and the following years should be taken; likewise, in conjunction with the basic plans for economic and social growth of the DRA for the years 1365-1369 and for the implementation of the duties outlined in the resolution, proper steps should be considered. In this regard priority should be given to the construction of new projects which are related to public health.

- The Ministries of Public Health, Defense, Foreign Affairs and the General Department of Government Information Services of the DRA in a joint effort with the government Planning, Work and Social Security Committees, the Ministries of Higher and Vocational Education, Justice and other ministries and relevant departments of the DRA for the purpose of improving the provision of health services for the relatives of the armed forces personnel and the people who become injured in the line of duty as a result of fulfilling the wishes of the Sawr revolution, and furthermore, for the educational growth of the medical cadres for the armed forces of the DRA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the General Department of Government Information Services of the DRA should draw up the expedient policies and present the necessary proposal to the Council of Ministers in three months.

- The government radio-TV and cinematography committee, all the newspapers and periodicals of the Central Province and other provinces and all the means of public media in a joint effort with the Ministry of Public Health of the DRA should reinforce and propagate information regarding hygienic issues and the proper observance of its rules among the people, particularly the women, children and the inhabitants of the villages of the country.

As extensively as possible they should put into effect the transmission and presentation of special programs and movies regarding sanitary education.

- Party committees of the Political Affairs Department of the Armed Forces of the DRA, social and guild organizations, the Ministries of Public Health, Higher and Vocational Education, and the Ministry of Education of the DRA should take up the extensive political task of introducing the medical employees and the students of the medical training institutions with the spirit



and love of the country and people. In supporting and strengthening this attitude they will show that the basis of professionalism and love of one's country by all the medical employees would revolve around protection of one's life and health and it's those people (medical employees) who should hold the banner of medical profession high and be exemplary to other individuals.

12719

CSO:4665/78



INDIA

## ANALYST DISCUSSES NEW APEX GROUP ON INTERNAL SECURITY

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 28.

A new apex group on internal security has been set up under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to coordinate the activities of the Central and State intelligence agencies concerned and lay down the broad policy for dealing with happenings like those in Punjab, Gujarat and Assam.

The high policy group will have at least two Chief Ministers, the Cabinet Secretary, Mr. P. K. Kaul, the Director of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis, Mr. K. Subrahmanyam, and some others including the chiefs of the internal and external intelligence agencies, with a very senior IPS officer, Mr. R. K. Khandelwal, as Member-Secretary.

### P.M.'s security

The Prime Minister's personal security will continue to be looked after by the former Joint Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Mr. S. Subramanian, an officer of the rank of Inspector-General of Police, who is now attached to the Cabinet Secretariat. He functions under the over-all supervision of Mr. Arun Singh, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, who is now directly in charge of the security arrangements.

The first indication that the Prime Minister was concerned as much about the internal security of the country as its external defence was given in his address to the Army commanders conference last week, when he made a specific reference to it. So the decision to constitute a high-level policy group on internal security under his own chairmanship reflects the great importance he is attaching to this problem in the context of the recurring turmoils in different parts of the country requiring a co-ordinated approach by the Central and the State Governments.

A few years ago, after her return to power in 1980, the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi,

recalled Mr. R. N. Kao, the former head of the Research and Analysis Wing, the external intelligence agency, to oversee the functioning of both internal and external intelligence departments. He was designated Security Adviser to the Prime Minister with his previous rank of Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat.

### Bifurcation

As part of wider reorganisation, the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) in the Cabinet Secretariat, which assessed and evaluated the higher intelligence reports submitted by the internal and external agencies including the military intelligence units, was bifurcated for dealing in greater depth with internal and external security problems. The two bodies, JIC (Internal) and JIC (External) headed by Mr. P. P. Nayyar and Mr. S. M. Warty, both of the rank of Secretaries, functioned under the over-all supervision of Mr. Kao, who was assisted by the heads of various intelligence organisations.

After Mr. Kao resigned following Indira Gandhi's assassination, the higher security organisation set up by him was wound up pending alternative arrangements. Though he agreed to continue to be a member of the Policy Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. G. Parthasarathy, Mr. Kao had shed all his responsibilities in relation to the higher direction of the country's intelligence organisations.

### Desirability of merger

The Prime Minister is now considering the desirability of merging the two wings of the Joint Intelligence Committee into a single outfit again. If this decision is taken, it is quite likely that the Member-Secretary of the newly created apex body, Mr. Khandelwal, might be appointed its chairman.

The present Chairman of JIC (Internal), Mr. P. P. Nayyar, a former Chief Secretary of Bihar, and Special Secretary in the Union Home Ministry, who is highly rated as an expert on law and order problem, might be given a more im-

portant assignment. He was in charge of Punjab in the Home Ministry before he was shifted to the Cabinet Secretariat to head JIC (Internal) in the wake of the worsening situation there.

Mr. Khandelwal was an Additional Director of the Intelligence Bureau before he was appointed Director-General of the Central Reserve Police Force. He is now being brought back into the Intelligence set-up in a key position, because of his high reputation for personal integrity and professional competence.

### **Common practice**

It is not uncommon for the Central Government to go through recurring phases of intelligence review and reorganisation to overcome the inadequacies of the vast web that has been established over the last three decades since Independence, as and when some glaring failures come to light. The most grievous lapse of the multifarious agencies dealing with security was the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her own bodyguards within the precincts of her official residence.

The tragic event, which came as a painful climax to the monumental failures of the many agencies involved in the personal security of the Prime Minister, led to a thorough review of the whole security set-up at the Centre. Many top heads rolled during the first few weeks, although some innocents also suffered in this general shake-up which was inevitable in the calamitous aftermath of the assassination.

It has taken the new Prime Minister much longer to formulate his own ideas on national security and make the necessary institutional changes to plug the loopholes in the system. The decision to set up the high-power policy group on internal security under his chairmanship is the first in the series of similar steps under contemplation to streamline the functioning of the many unwieldy outfits with overlapping responsibilities that have grown over the years into unmanageable organisations.

CSO: 5650/0154

INDIA

# PUNJAB LOK DAL PRESIDENT SHOT IN CHANDIGARH

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 May 85 p 1

[Text]

CHANDIGARH, May 10.

Unidentified terrorists today shot dead Mr. Balbir Singh, Punjab Lok Dal president and former MP, on the outskirts of Hoshiarpur town.

An indefinite curfew was clamped on Hoshiarpur as violence erupted following the killing. One person was stabbed to death and several shops were set on fire as mobs, defying curfew, indulged in arson and rioting. Security forces, deployed in strength, had a tough time controlling crowds protesting against the shooting.

**Automatic weapons used:** Official reports said two persons on a scooter struck when Mr. Balbir Singh was going on a two-wheeler to his farm on the outskirts of the town around 6.30 a.m. They used automatic weapons at point blank range, hitting him in the neck. Mr. Balbir Singh died on the spot. The assassins sped away after the killing.

People soon gathered and carried the body to the nearby DAV high school even before the police could reach the spot. Mr. Balbir Singh was president of the managing committee of DAV institutions in the town.

As reports of the killing spread, angry mobs set shops on fire in Goshala Bazar, Pratap Bazar and Kanak Mandi, and near the bus stand. The authorities moved fast, clamped a curfew, deployed men of the security forces in strength and arrested 35 persons in connection with the violent incidents. Long distance bus services to Hoshiarpur were also cancelled.

The cremation of Mr. Balbir Singh will take place tomorrow morning.

**Rajiv condemns killing:** In New Delhi, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, condemned the assassination of Mr. Balbir Singh. In a condolence message, he said 'this cowardly attack deserves condemnation by all those who have the welfare of the country at heart.' Leaders of several political parties also came out strongly in protest against the murder.

CSO: 5650/0156

28 June 1985

## INDIA

## MANIPUR PLA SUFFERS FROM LEADER'S ARREST

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 16 May 85 p 7

[Article by Arvind Kumar]

[Text] Imphal: The operations of the outlawed People's Liberation Army in the Imphal Valley have suffered a severe setback with the arrest of its senior-most leader, Th. Sanaba Singh, by the Army on April 19.

The arrest of 49-year-old Sanaba is a personal victory for Brig. Satish Kashyap who himself led the team of Army commandos to the village of Kangla Siphai where the operation took place.

Reportedly, information that Sanaba was staying in Kangla Siphai village first reached the Army at 11 am on April 19. Brig. Kashyap had two options before him: either to carry out the operation at night as per the usual practice or to go immediately to the village and take Sanaba by surprise as extremists are seldom hunted out during the day. He opted for the latter.

By one pm, the Army commandos had reached the village which is eight km south on the Imphal-Ukhrul road. On arrival, they cordoned off the area where Sanaba was suspected to be hiding. They found him while he was having a bath and on seeing them, he tried to escape to the hills. Two commandos gave him chase and nabbed him.

The entire operation lasted only 20 minutes; and it is after a long time that an extremist of Sanaba's seniority has been apprehended without a shot being fired on either side.

Sanaba, who is the senior-most member of the PLA, was earlier tipped to take over its

leadership after the capture of N. Bisheswar Singh in July, 1981, but he was outmanoeuvred by his younger colleagues like Kunjbihari and Manikanta.

Sanaba, who carried a cash reward of Rs 15,000 on his head, was the leader of the PLA group which had raided the office of the chief conservator of forests at Imphal on July 18, 1980 and escaped with 36 rifles. He was also a member of the PLA party which attacked the SSB headquarters at Kakching and managed to run away with nine rifles on September 22, 1980.

Earlier, on June nine, 1980, along with some of his extremist colleagues, he had attacked the Manipur Rifles guard at the Regional Medical College at Imphal, killed a jawan and escaped with two rifles.

Factions: After his arrest, Sanaba is understood to have told the authorities that at present there are at least three factions in the PLA. One faction, he said, owes allegiance to Temba Singh who, along with his supporters, is now in Kachinland of Burma. The second supports Manikanta who crossed into Burma recently. The third group comprising the PLA members still in the Imphal valley backs Sanaba who, they feel, should have become PLA chief at least three years ago.

Although Sanaba was arrested on the basis of information received from the Army's intelligence sources

only, he strongly suspects that details about his whereabouts were leaked to the Army by some rival PLA members.

The authorities seized from Sanaba a letter written to him by Chirom Ranjit Singh, second-in-command of the PLA when Bisheswar was its chief, saying that talks are going on for the surrender or coming overground of PLA members.

The letter written in February this year, also asked Sanaba to come and meet Bisheswar at his MLA quarters in Imphal.

An interesting sidelight in the whole episode is that for two days the Manipur police refused to take him under its charge until he was first examined by a civilian doctor. However, after intervention by top state officials, the police relented and took Sanaba into their custody.

Incidentally, this is the second ploy thought up by the Manipur Police to avoid taking over custody of extremists apprehended by the Army. Earlier, the arrested persons were not accepted by the police on the plea that the weapons captured at the time of arrest should also be handed over to the police. The Army had stopped handing over weapons of arrested persons because some of these were reported to be stolen later from the police armoury. Subsequently, the Army had to revert to the original practice of handing over weapons along with the arrested persons.

INDIA

# SABOTAGE PLOT FOILED IN JAMMU, KASHMIR

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 May 85 p 1

[Text] Jammu, May 16 (PTI). The Jammu and Kashmir government today sealed all possible points from where terrorists from Punjab could enter the state after a plot by extremists to create large-scale disturbances was "effectively" foiled, police sources said today.

The sources said 20 persons had so far been arrested including four trying to enter the state. They admitted that they had "definite plan to sabotage," the sources said.

Among the arrested were two Sikh young men dressed as sadhus and who were roaming on the bank of Chenab.

The suspects were nabbed while roaming in "suspicious circumstances" in Akhnoor and Lalkhanput area of Jammu region and are being interrogated, the sources said.

They belong to Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Faridkot districts of Punjab.

The two Sikhs dressed as sadhus were arrested by the Akhnoor police. They were identified as residents of Malairkotla and Jalandhar.

Four suspects terrorists were arrested by Lakhanpur police while they were trying to enter the state, the sources said. Later two of their accomplices were arrested from a car.

All are residents of Faridkot and Hoshiarpur in Punjab. They were identified as Jaswant Singh and Manjeet Singh of Faridkot and Dilbag Singh and Mohinder Singh of Dasuah in Hoshiarpur district.

## Papers Seized

According to the sources, the state police has taken stringent measures to deal with secessionist elements and all the points connecting state's border with Punjab have been sealed.

A constant vigil is being maintained on the border with Punjab to check infiltration of the extremists. All points suspected to be entry gates of the extremists have been completely sealed, the sources added.

Raids continue (TOINS from New Delhi): The police last night raided two houses at Nataina and the Tagore Gardens here and took into custody several persons in connection with the series of bomb blasts in the capital in which more than 45 people were killed last week.

The houses were raided on the basis of information gathered during the interrogation of Kartar Singh Narang and Mohinder Singh Oberoi, who were arrested on Sunday from a West Patel Nagar house.

Sources said that some incriminating material was seized from the two houses and this was being scrutinised. The interrogation of the suspects arrested from Naraina and Tagore Garden houses could possibly reveal further information about the organisation which had created terror in northern India by planting booby-trapped transistor bombs.

Meanwhile, the sources said that the condition of Oberoi was serious and required constant medical attention. Another suspect, Mohinder Singh alias Khalsa, had died in police custody on Monday.

Interrogation of the suspects revealed that most of the bombs were planted by volunteers, some of them in their teens. Some women were also used to plant bombs. All of them were under an oath of secrecy.

The volunteers were apparently motivated by several religious preachers in small gurdwaras calling for sacrifice. Exaggerated accounts of alleged atrocities being perpetrated on Sikh youths, especially during the November riots, motivated the volunteers.

The police have sought information about several suspected extremists arrested in other cities following the bombings. The information was being scrutinised by senior officials of various intelligence agencies. The Jammu and Kashmir police were also being contacted to get more information about the 20 extremists arrested yesterday.

The police believe that all the suspects, arrested from various parts of the country, were part of a single, well-knit organisation with a clear purpose of creating disturbances.

Delhi's acting police commissioner, Mr. Ved Marwah, said that he would have some "startling disclosures" to make after a week. He, however, refused to divulge any information about the progress of the case.

PTI adds: The sources said that most of those involved in the bomb blast conspiracy were supporters of the late Bhindranwale.

These terrorists, who had gone underground after Operation Bluestar, had of late regrouped themselves with new recruits, the sources said,

The police discovered yet another crude bomb in Raghubir Nagar area in west Delhi last night. The police had on Wednesday morning found two HE-36 grenades from a park in the same locality.

Stray incidents: (PTI from Chandigarh): An HE-36 hand grenade was found at the Sikhna lake here, Rs. 700,000 looted from a commission agent in Jalandhar district and an unsuccessful attempt was made to loot a branch of Punjab National Bank at Ludhiana in the past 24 hours, reports here said today.

The curfew imposed in Hoshiatpur in the wake of violence and arson following the gunning down of Mr. Balbir Singh, Punjab Lok Dal president, last week was today extended till 8 a.m. tomorrow.

A report from Ludhiana said that two extremists--Mohinder Pratap Singh of Chandigarh and Balram Singh of Ropar district--were arrested by the police early this morning after an encounter. The two were wanted in connection with a number of cases including those of canal cuts in Ropar district and killing of Mr. Bhisham Prakash, Khanna block Congress president, on May 2.

CSO: 5650/0166



INDIA

**BOMBAY CALLED LIKELY CONDUIT FOR FUNDS TO EXTREMISTS**

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 May 85 p 1

[Article by Oswald Pereira]

[Text] Bombay, May 23. The city police suspect that Bombay is being used as a conduit for supplying funds to Sikh extremists in Mexico and other countries.

Ace sleuths were trying to locate the "operational base" of the extremists in the city, a high-ranking police official said today.

He said that several persons had been interrogated in Bombay and Delhi after the seizure on May 1 of Rs. 34,69,800 from Amritpal Swarup Singh, one of the members of the Delhi-based group supplying crores of rupees in foreign currency to the underground training centre of Sikh extremists in Mexico.

The police have so far scant leads to the persons manning the operational base in the city, the official said.

He could not say whether extremist activities were widespread in the city. "We have not gathered any concrete evidence in this regard", he said. But he admitted that Bombay being the commercial capital of the city, the extremists could be using it for coordinating the financial aspect of their activities.

Another reason why Bombay was chosen may be because the extremists could hide their identity in the city. By operating in Delhi they could expose themselves more easily to the police there, according to the official.

Bombay was also chosen as it abounds in foreign exchange racketeers. Once the Indian currency was converted into foreign currency, it could be conveniently sent to Dabar by air and then to Mexico, the official felt.

He however denied that funds were being supplied by persons in Bombay. Only persons in Delhi are involved, he added.

Meanwhile, Amritpal was further remanded to custody till May 25 by the additional chief metropolitan magistrate, Mr. G. D. Risbud.

Raghubir Singh, Amritpal's brother-in-law and the brain behind the operation, his son Indejit Singh, and another brother-in-law, Hardeep Singh, his alleged associates have been granted anticipatory bail by the Delhi sessions court, it is reliably learnt. The enforcement directorate in Delhi is reported to have so far made out a case only under the income-tax laws.

Raju Marwari, who was alleged to have helped the group in converting Indian rupees into foreign currency, is at large. The police suspect that more foreign exchange racketeers in Bombay may have helped the alleged extremists.

A crack team of the special branch, C.I.D. Bombay, are camping in Delhi. The Intelligence Bureau in Delhi and the Delhi police are conducting joint investigations. Interpol has also been contacted.

CSO: 5650/0169

INDIA

# MANIPUR CHIEF MINISTER ON EXTREMISTS' HIT LIST

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 May 85 p 9

[Text]

IMPHAL, May 26.—The Manipur Chief Minister, Mr. Rishang Keishang, and his Cabinet colleague, Mr. Soshoh Larho, are on the "hit list" of about 77 people, of whom 18 have already been killed by extremists belonging to the outlawed National Socialist Council of Nagaland, according to official sources here today, reports PTL.

Giving details of the incidents, the sources said some underground members had been "authorized" by NSCN's Central Headquarters and General Headquarters in Upper Burma to carry out a series of "violent activities" in the region. Angelous, who had received "advice" from CHQ and GHQ, led the February 18 ambush, in which 13 Army jawans and two village volunteer force personnel were killed at Kangpat in Ukhrul district of Manipur. But the killing of the former Chief Minister, Y. Shalza, last year by Ramkating was against the CHQ and GHQ's instructions.

Some 130 people from Ukhrul had joined the NSCN and 20 of them, including a top leader, T. H. Mulvah, and eight women were from Somdal village in the district.

Meanwhile, security measures have been intensified in Ukhrul along the Burma border following a recent incident in which underground Nagas made an abortive attempt on the life of the district's Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Vijay Chibber, in his office room. One of his security guards was killed on the spot when they fired from the backyard of his office on May 14.

Combined security forces were patrolling round the clock in the district town and checking groups of people at different posts.

CSO: 5650/0173

INDIA

# 'TONING UP' OF ANTITERRORIST MACHINERY URGED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 13 May 85 p 1

[Editorial by R. K. Mishra: "Parliament and Terrorism"]

[Text]

The shock and indignation at the terrorists' action in Delhi and neighbouring States will be uppermost in the minds of members of Parliament when they meet on Monday. The treasury benches and the Opposition, we hope, will evolve an agreed procedure to discuss these grave incidents and not allow acrimony to mar the atmosphere. It is of paramount importance that Parliament speaks with one voice on this occasion and makes it abundantly clear that the entire nation extends its fullest support to firm and effective measures to crush this menace. Large scale and well planned terrorist actions offer to the Opposition parties an opportunity to assail the Government for the failure of its intelligence and law-enforcement agencies. To some extent, this criticism will be valid. But the Opposition members will be showing a sense of responsibility if they do not over-react. It is necessary to bear in mind that the terrorists have the advantage of selecting their targets, method, time and place of mischief. That is why it is difficult to prevent vandalism by reckless individuals or groups. The Government should take the people and Parliament into confidence as far as possible without jeopardising investigation and follow-up action.

The need for a consensus on the approach towards the terrorist menace is paramount. There is no room for ambivalence in the present situation. The terrorists have no interest in a solution of what is described as the Punjab problem. Their mischief is aimed solely at creating panic, tension and chaos. To assume that they will stop their depredations if the Government takes further initiatives in Punjab is a dangerous exercise in self-deception. To suggest such measures in a discussion on how to deal with terrorism is a diversionary tactics and the temptation to take recourse to it should be avoided. Similarly, no useful purpose will be served by harping on past acts of omission and commission. This will only lead to wasteful polemics and undermine efforts to build a powerful and united public opinion against these anti-people and anti-national acts.

Politically, the terrorists have isolated themselves considerably by their heinous crimes. The unreserved condemnation by Mr Parkash Singh Badal and others, who have correctly described these actions as "criminal" and engineered by "forces inimically disposed towards India", the demand that a 'hukumnama' be issued condemning these terrorist actions and other expressions of abhorrence indicate a growing realisation that silence or equivocation will be disastrous for all concerned. Terrorists can operate with impunity only when they receive support and shelter from others. The immediate task is to arouse people's vigilance and ensure that such support is not available to them in future. This will facilitate the task of unearthing the hideouts of these mischief-makers and smash their attempts to regroup. Those in Punjab and outside who have not yet spoken candidly must do so without any loss of time and no responsible person should acquiesce in these crimes in the name of Panthic unity. Attempts to provide to the terrorists an alibi by taking recourse to the absurdity of blaming the Government for engineering these crimes should be condemned unreservedly.

Administratively, the anti-terrorist machinery must be toned up. A lot needs to be done in this respect. It will be wrong to assume that the murder gangs will repeat the same modus operandi. They may switch over to other forms of terror, strike at new locations and find other targets. Those responsible for dealing with this menace must possess the ability to collect and collate information, anticipate events and take timely action. Only by establishing convincingly the effectiveness of the state apparatus in dealing with terrorist violence the Government can hope to instil some courage amongst those who are afraid of taking a categorical position. Parliament must make it clear that those who deliberately indulge in equivocation on the issue of terrorism will not be given legitimacy or respectability directly or indirectly.

What is said on the floor of Parliament, the highest forum of our people, will be heard with attention within and outside the country. Let Parliament make it clear that despite differences amongst political parties and groups, Indian democracy will deal ruthlessly with the pernicious forces which are aiding terrorism to subserve their evil designs against this country.

CSO: 5650/0159

INDIA

## REPORTAGE ON PASSING, SUBSTANCE OF ANTITERRORIST BILL

### Introduction of Bill

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 May 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 18.

A Bill providing for very severe punishment, including death sentence, for terrorist activities, was introduced in the Lok Sabha today by the Law Minister, Mr. Asoke Sen.

The new legislation prescribes capital punishment for any terrorist act causing death, while penalties ranging from three years in prison to life imprisonment have been laid down for various offences involving violence under this legislation.

The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Bill, 1985, also envisages the setting up of "designated courts" for the speedy trial of those charged with offences under this legislation. The designated officers of these courts will not be below the rank of a Sessions Judge or Additional Sessions Judge.

The provisions of the Bill, which will be in force initially for a period of two years, will come into effect from a date to be notified by the Government after it has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and the President has given his assent to it.

### Deferred till Monday

The Government wanted to pass the Bill in the Lok Sabha today itself, but it agreed to defer the passage till Monday as some of the Opposition parties, especially those belonging to the Janata and the leftist groups, demanded more time to study its implications.

The Government wants to get this Bill passed by the Lok Sabha on Monday and the Rajya Sabha on Tuesday before the conclusion of the budget session. The highest importance is being attached to this legislation by the executive to empower itself with authority to take deterrent action against those indulging in acts of terrorism.

The definition of terrorist activity, as provided for in this Bill, covers violent activities such as the use of explosives, firearms and other lethal weapons, poisons or noxious gases and chemicals, causing or like-

ly to cause death or injuries to people, destruction of property or disruption of essential supplies and services.

According to this Bill, disruptive activity includes any action taken, whether by act or speech, by song or ballad, by verse or words, or by any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, record, tape, video cassette, drawing, painting or representation which questions, disrupts or is intended to disrupt India's sovereignty and territorial integrity, or bring about or support any claim for cession or secession of any part of territory from the Indian Union.

### Delay in introduction

The introduction of the Bill was delayed by several days, even after the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, announced the decision of the Government to bring forward this drastic legislation, because the Law Ministry took a long time to finalise the definition of terrorism in all its aspects to cover the current wave of violence unleashed by the Sikh extremists campaigning for secession.

The Bill also provides for severe punishment of those engaging in any action which advocates, suggests or incites, predicts or prophesies killing of any person bound by oath under the Constitution to uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India or any public servant.

It also empowers the Government to prohibit communication with persons, within or outside India, instigating or abetting terrorist acts or disruptive activities, publication of information likely to assist terrorists and disruptionists, and rendering of financial or other assistance to them. The Government can control, under the provisions of this Bill, the movement within India of persons arriving from abroad and regulate or prohibit use of postal, telegraphic or telephonic services, or even intercept postal articles and telegraphic messages or telephonic conversations.

The Government can also frame rules under this

Bill to regulate the conduct of people in areas, the control of which is considered necessary, and to remove such persons from those areas or demolish or destroy any building if it is considered necessary for fighting terrorism.

## Designated Courts

The Bill empowers the State Governments to set up designated courts, which may hold their proceedings, if necessary, at places other than their normal places. Any judgment, sentence or order passed by a designated court can be challenged in appeal only before the Supreme Court, which means the High Courts will have no *locus standi* to intervene in such cases.

PTI, UNI report:

The Bill, comes closely on the heels of the adoption of the amendment to the Arms Act by the House to enhance mainly the terms of imprisonment in the disturbed areas of Punjab and Chandigarh.

The introduction of the Bill, followed an assurance in this regard by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, during a recent debate in the House on bomb blasts in the capital and the neighbouring States.

Though the Opposition agreed that strong measures were needed to tackle terrorism, they suggested consultations with the Opposition on certain provisions of the Bill to ensure unanimity in adopting it.

## 'Unprecedented danger'

Mr. Asoke Sen said, "We are facing an unprecedented danger" and the Bill was introduced in that background. When the Minister agreed to have the debate on the Bill on Monday, Mr. Dandavate said he along with some other Opposition leaders were leaving for Ahmedabad tomorrow and returning on Monday. Hence the Bill could be taken up on Tuesday.

The Minister, however, contended that the measure

brooked no delay and it had to be taken up on Monday itself.

"Let our flexibility not be interpreted as weakness on the part of the Government," he observed.

## 'Sweeping definitions'

Mr. Dandavate and Mrs. Geetha Mukherjee (CPI) took exception to the sweeping definitions of terrorists and disruptive activities in the Bill and wanted the Bill referred either to a Select Committee of Parliament or a special session of Parliament.

Later, however, both the Government and the Opposition agreed to sit on Monday for discussion and adoption of the Bill. They also agreed that amendments to the Bill could be given by members till 5 p.m. today.

Mr. Sen assured members that the Government would take utmost care to see that none but the terrorists were brought to book under the proposed legislation.

He said this House must decide this issue (of terrorists) immediately. The entire nation expects this House to give the lead," he said.

Mr. Sen explained it was not the Government's intention to rush through the legislation in the face of stiff opposition. This should not be viewed as a "party conflict", he said.

He told the members that any person bound by oath was protected under the provisions of the new legislation and "this House should not be divided on such an issue to fight terrorism to the last."

Mr. Basudeb Acharya said there was every scope for misusing the provisions of the Bill. A bad precedent would be set by introducing and passing this Bill on the same day.

Mr. Narayan Choubey said there were innumerable defects in the Bill. "We know it because we have been the sufferers in the past." He wanted the Bill to be kept in abeyance and a special session of the House convened for its consideration and adoption.

## Text of Bill

Madras THE HINDU in English 19 May 85 pp 4, 5

### [Text]

NEW DELHI, May 18.

The Bill, seeking to prevent terrorist and disruptive activities, provides for death penalty or life imprisonment and for setting up of designated courts to try offences under it.

The Bill empowers the Government to make necessary rules to prevent and cope with terrorist and disruptive activities.

The following is the text of the Bill:

### PART I: Preliminary

1. (1) This Act may be called the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1985;

(2) it extends to the whole of India, and it applies also—

(A) to citizens of India outside India, (B) to persons in the service of the Government, wherever they may be, and (C) to persons on ships and aircraft registered in India, wherever they may be;

Provided that so much of this Act as relates to terrorist acts shall not apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(3) it shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may by notification in the official gazette, appoint and shall remain in force for a period of two years from the date of its commencement, but its expiry under the operation of this Sub-Section shall not affect—

(A) the previous operation of, or anything duly done or suffered under, this Act or any rule made thereunder or any order made under any such rule, or (B) any right, privilege, obligation or liability acquired, accrued or incurred under this Act or any rule made thereunder or any order made under any such rule, or (C) any penalty, forfeiture or punishment incurred in respect of any such right, privilege, obligation, liability, penalty, forfeiture or punishment as aforesaid.

And any such investigation, legal proceeding or remedy may be instituted, continued or enforced and any such penalty, forfeiture or punishment may be imposed as if this Act had not expired.

2. (1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,— (A) "code" means the Code of Criminal



Procedure, 1973, (B) "designated court" means a designated court constituted under Section 7, (C) "disruptive activity" has the meaning assigned to it in Section 4, and the expression, "disruptionist", shall be construed accordingly, (D) "High Court", in relation to, a designated court, means the High Court within the territorial limits of whose jurisdiction such designated court is proposed to be, or is, constituted, (E) "Public Prosecutor" means a public prosecutor or an Additional Public Prosecutor or a Special Public Prosecutor appointed under Section 11, and includes any person acting under the directions of the Public Prosecutor, (F) "terrorist act" has the meaning assigned to it in Sub-Section (1) of Section 3 and the expression, "terrorist", shall be construed accordingly, (G) words and expressions used, but not defined in this Act and defined in the Code, shall have the meanings respectively assigned to them in the code; (2) any reference in this Act to any enactment or any provision thereof shall, in relation to an area in which such enactment or such provision is not in force, be construed as a reference to the corresponding law or the relevant provision of the corresponding law, if any, in force in that area.

## **PART II: Punishments for, and measures for coping with terrorist and disruptive activities.**

3. (1) Whoever with intent to overawe the Government as by law established or to strike terror in the people or any section of the people or to alienate any section of the people or to adversely affect the harmony amongst different sections of the people, does any act or thing by using bombs, dynamite or other explosive substances or inflammable substances or firearms or other lethal weapons or poisons or noxious gases or other chemicals or any other substances (whether biological or otherwise) of a hazardous nature, in such a manner as to cause, or as is likely to cause, death of, or injuries to, any person or persons or damage to, or destruction of, property or disruption of any supplies or services essential to the life of the community, commits a terrorist act; (2) whoever commits a terrorist act shall,—(i) if such act has resulted in the death of any person, be punishable with death, (ii) in any other case, be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than five years, but which may extend to a term of life and shall also be liable to fine; (3) whoever conspires or attempts to commit, or advocates, advises or incites or knowingly facilitates the commission of, a terrorist act or any act preparatory to a terrorist act, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than three years, but which may extend to a term of life and shall also be liable to fine.

### **Disruptive activity**

4. (1) Whoever commits or conspires or attempts to commit or abets, advocates, advises, incites or knowingly facilitates the commission of, any disruptive activity or any act preparatory to a disruptive activity shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than three years, but which may extend to a term of life and shall also be liable to fine; (2) for the purposes of Sub-Section (1), "disruptive activity" means any action taken, whether by act or by speech or song or ballad or verse or words or by any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, record, tape, video cassette, drawing, painting, representation or in any other manner whatsoever,—(i) which questions, disrupts or is intended to disrupt, whether directly or indirectly, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India, or (ii) which is intended to bring about or supports any claim, whether directly or indirectly, for the cession of any part of India or the secession of any part of India from the Union.

**Explanation:** For the purposes of this sub-section,—(A) "Cession" includes the admission of any

claim of any foreign country to any part of India, and (B) "secession" includes the assertion of any claim to determine whether a part of India will remain within the Union, (3) without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of Sub-Section (2), it is hereby declared that any action taken, whether by act or by speech or song or ballad or verse or words or by any book, pamphlet, paper, writing, record, tape video cassette, drawing, painting, representation or in any other manner whatsoever which—(A) advocates, advises, suggests or incites, or (B) predicts, prophesies or pronounces or otherwise expresses, in such manner as to incite, advise, suggest or prompt, the killing or the destruction of any persons bound by oath under the Constitution to uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India or any public servants shall be deemed to be a disruptive activity within the meaning of this section.

### **Making rules**

5. (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the official gazette, make such rules as appear to it necessary or expedient for the prevention of, and for coping with, terrorist acts and disruptive activities.

### **Order making powers**

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the powers conferred by Sub-Section (1), the rules may provide for, and may empower any authority to make orders providing for, all or any of the following matters with respect to the purposes mentioned in that Sub-Section, namely:—

(A) preventing or prohibiting anything likely to facilitate the commission of terrorist acts or disruptive activities or prejudice the successful conduct of operations against terrorists or disruptionists including—(i) communications with persons (whether within or outside India) instigating or abetting terrorist acts or disruptive activities or assisting in any manner terrorists or disruptionists, (ii) acquisition, possession or publication, without lawful authority or excuse, of information likely to assist terrorists or disruptionists, (iii) rendering of any assistance, whether financial or otherwise, to terrorists or disruptionists,

(B) preventing, with a view to coping with terrorist acts or disruptive activities, the spread without lawful authority or excuse, of reports or the prosecution of any purpose likely to cause disaffection or alarm or to prejudice maintenance of peaceful conditions in any area or part of India or to promote feelings of ill will, (C) regulating the conduct of persons in respect of areas the control of which is considered necessary or expedient and the removal of such persons from such areas, (D) requiring any person or class of persons to comply with any scheme for the prevention of, or for coping with, terrorist acts or disruptive activities, (E) ensuring the safety of persons and property, (F) the demolition, destruction or rendering useless, in case of necessity, of any building or other premises or any other property, (G) prohibiting or regulating in any area, traffic and the use of any vehicles or vessels or signals or any apparatus whatsoever, (H) the control of movements within India of persons arriving in India from outside India, (I) prohibiting or regulating the use of postal, telegraphic or telephonic services, including taking possession of such services, and the delaying, seizing, intercepting or interrupting of postal articles or telegraphic or telephonic messages, (J) regulating the delivery, otherwise than by postal or telegraphic service, of postal articles and telegrams, (K) regulating supplies and services essential to the life of the community, (L) the requisitioning of services of persons for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community, (M) the provision, construction, maintenance or alteration of buildings, premises or

other structures or excavations required for the conduct of operations against terrorists or disruptionists, (N) prohibiting or regulating the possession, use or disposal of—(i) explosives, inflammable substances, corrosive and dangerous articles, arms and ammunitions, (ii) vehicles and vessels, (iii) wireless telegraphic apparatus, (iv) photographic and signalling apparatus, of any means of recording or communicating information, (O) preventing the disclosure of official secrets, (P) prohibiting or regulating meetings, assemblies, fairs and processions, (Q) preventing or controlling any use of uniforms, whether official or otherwise, flags, official decorations like medals, badges and other insignia and anything similar thereto, where such use is calculated to deceive, (R) ensuring the accuracy of any report or declaration legally required of any person.

(S) Preventing anything likely to cause misapprehension in respect of the identity of any official person, official document or official property or in respect of the identity of any person, document or property purported to be or resembling an official person, official document or official property, (T) the entry into, and search of, any place whatsoever reasonably suspected of being used for harbouring terrorists or disruptionists or for manufacturing or storing anything for use for purpose of terrorist acts or disruptive activities.

### **Trial and punishment**

(3) The rules made under Sub-Section (1) may further—(A) provide for the arrest and trial of persons contravening any of the rules or any order issued thereunder, (B) provide that any contravention of, or any attempt to contravene, or any abetment of, or any attempt to abet the contravention of any of the provisions of the rules or any order issued under any such provisions shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years or for a term which may not be less than six months, but which may extend to seven years or with fine or with imprisonment as aforesaid and fine, (C) provide for the seizure, detention and forfeiture of any property in respect of which such contravention, attempt or abetment as is referred to in clause (B) has been committed and for the adjudication of such seizure and forfeiture, whether by any court or by any other authority, (D) confer powers and impose duties as respects any matter upon the Central Government or officers and authorities of the Central Government or upon any State Government or officers and authorities of the State Government, (E) prescribe the duties and powers of public servants and other persons as regards preventing the contravention of, or securing the observance of, the rules or any order made thereunder, (F) provide for preventing contravention, obstruction and deception of, and disobedience to, any person acting, and interference with any notice issued, in pursuance of the rules or any order made thereunder, (G) prohibit attempts by any person to screen from punishment anyone, other than the husband or wife of such person, contravening any of the rules or any order made thereunder, (H) empower or direct any authority to take such action as may be specified in the rules or as may seem to such authority necessary for the purpose of ensuring the safety of persons and of property.

6. (1) if any person contravenes, in any area notified in this behalf by a State Government, any such provision of, or any such rule made under, the Arms Act, 1959, the Explosives Act, 1884, the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or the Inflammable Substances Act, 1952, as may be notified in this behalf by the Central Government or by a State Government, he shall, notwithstanding anything contained in any of the aforesaid Acts or the Rules made thereunder, be punishable with imprisonment for a

term which may extend to ten years or, if his intention is to aid any terrorist or disruptionist, with death or imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than three years, but which may extend to term of life, and shall also be liable to fine.

(2) For the purposes of this section, any person who attempts to contravene or abets, or attempts to abet, or does any act preparatory to the contravention of any provision of any law, rule or order shall be deemed to have contravened that provision.

**PART III: Designated courts:** 7. (1) The State Government may for the whole or any part of the State constitute one or more designated Courts.

(2) A Designated Court shall be presided over by a Judge to be appointed by the State Government with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the High Court.

(3) The State Government may also appoint, with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of the High Court, additional judges to exercise jurisdiction in a designated court.

(4) A person shall not be qualified for appointments as a Judge or an additional Judge of a designated court unless he is, immediately before such appointment, a sessions Judge or any additional sessions Judge in any State.

(5) For the removal of doubts, it is hereby provided that the attainment by a person appointed as a Judge or an additional Judge of a designated court of the age of superannuation under the rules applicable to him in the service to which he belongs, shall not affect his continuance as such Judge or additional Judge.

(6) Where any additional Judge or additional Judges is or are appointed in a designated court, the Judge of the designated court may, from time to time, by general or special order, in writing, provide for the distribution of business of the designated court among himself and the additional Judge or additional Judges and also for the disposal of urgent business in the event of his absence or the absence of any additional Judge.

8. A designated court may, if it considers it expedient or desirable so to do, sit for any of its proceedings at any place, other than the ordinary place of its sitting, in the State in which it is constituted.

Provided that if the public prosecutor certifies to the designated court that it is in his opinion necessary for the protection of the accused or any witness of otherwise expedient in the interests of justice that the whole or any part of the trial should be held at some place other than the ordinary place of its sitting, the designated court may, after hearing the accused, make an order to that effect unless, for reasons to be recorded in writing, the designated court thinks fit to make any other order.

(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the code, every offence punishable under any provision of this act or any rule made thereunder shall be triable only by the designated court within whose local jurisdiction it was committed.

(2) The Central Government may, if satisfied on the recommendation of the State Government or otherwise that it is necessary or expedient in the public interest so to do, transfer with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India (such concurrence to be obtained on a motion moved in that behalf by the Attorney-General of India) any case pending before a designated court in that State to a designated court in any other State.

(3) Where the whole or any part of the area within the local limits of the jurisdiction of a designated court has been declared to be, or forms part of, any area which has been declared to be a disturbed area under any enactment for the time being in force making provision for the suppression of disorder and restoration and maintenance of public order, and the

Central Government is of opinion, whether on receipt of a report received from the Government of the State in which such court is located or otherwise, that the situation prevailing in the State is not conducive to fair, impartial or speedy trial within the State, of offences under this act or the rules made thereunder which such court is competent to try, the Central Government may, with the concurrence of the Chief Justice of India, specify, by notification in the official gazette, in relation to such court (hereafter in this sub-section referred to as the local court) a designated court outside the State (hereafter in this section referred to as the specified court), and thereupon.

(A) It shall not be competent, at any time during the period of operation of such notification, for such local court to exercise any jurisdiction in respect of, or try, any offence under this act or the rules thereunder.

(B) The jurisdiction which would have been, but for the issue of such notification, exercisable by such local court in respect of such offences committed during the period of operation of such notification shall be exercisable by the special court.

(C) All cases relating to such offences pending immediately before the date of issue of such notification before such local court shall stand transferred on that date to the specified court.

(D) All cases taken cognisance of by, or transferred to, the specified court under clause (B) of clause (C) shall be dealt with and tried in accordance with this Act (whether during the period of operation of such notification or thereafter) as if such offences had been committed within the local limits of the jurisdiction of the specified court or, as the case may be, transferred for trial to it under Sub-Section (2).

**Explanation:** A notification issued under this section in relation to any local court shall cease to operate on the date on which the whole or, as the case may be, the aforementioned part of the area within the local limits of its jurisdiction, ceases to be a disturbed area.

10. (1) When trying any offence a designated court may also try any other offence with which the accused may, under the code, be charged at the same trial if the offence is connected with such other offence.

(2) If, in the course of any trial under this Act of any offence, it is found that the accused person has committed any other offence under this Act or any rule thereunder or under any other law, the designated court may convict such person of such other offence and pass any sentence authorised by this Act or such rule or, as the case may be, such other law, for the punishment thereof.

11. (1) For every designated court, the State Government shall appoint a person to be the public prosecutor and may appoint one or more persons to be the additional public prosecutor.

Provided that the State Government may also appoint for any case or class of cases a special public prosecutor.

(2) A person shall be eligible to be appointed as a Public Prosecutor or an Additional Public Prosecutor or a Special Public Prosecutor under this section only if he has been in practice as an Advocate for not less than seven years or has held any post, for a period of not less than seven years, under the union or a State, requiring special knowledge of law.

(3) Every person appointed as a Public Prosecutor or an Additional Public Prosecutor or a Special Public Prosecutor under this section shall be deemed to be a Public Prosecutor within the meaning of Clause (U) of Section 2 of the Code, and the provisions of the Code shall have effect accordingly.

12. (1) A designated court may take cognisance of any offence, without the accused being committed to it for trial, upon receiving a complaint of facts

which constitute such offence or upon a police report of such facts.

(2) Where an offence triable by a designated court is punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years or with fine or with both, the designated court may, notwithstanding anything contained in Sub-section (1) of Section 260 or Section 262 of the Code, try the offence in a summary way in accordance with the procedure prescribed in the Code and the provisions of Sections 263 to 265 of the Code, shall, so far as may be, apply to such trial.

Provided that when, in the course of a summary trial under this sub-section, it appears to the designated court that the nature of the case is such that it is undesirable to try it in a summary way, the designated court shall recall any witnesses who may have been examined and proceed to re-hear the case in the manner provided by the provisions of the Code for the trial of such offence and the said provisions shall apply to and in relation to a designated court as they apply to and in relation to a Magistrate.

Provided further that in the case of any conviction in a summary trial under this section, it shall be lawful for a designated court to pass a sentence of imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

(3) A designated court may, with a view to obtaining the evidence of any person supposed to have been directly or indirectly concerned in, or privy to an offence, tender a pardon to such person on condition of his making a full and true disclosure of the whole circumstances within his knowledge relative to the offence and to every other person concerned whether as principal or abettor in the commission thereof, and any pardon so tendered shall, for the purposes of section 308 of the Code, be deemed to have been tendered under Section 307 thereof.

(4) Subject to the other provisions of this Act, a designated court shall, for the purpose of trial of any offence, have all the powers of a court of session and shall try such offence as if it were a court of session so far as may be in accordance with the procedure prescribed in the code for the trial before a court of session.

(5) Subject to the other provisions of this Act, every case transferred to a designated court under sub-section (2) of Section 9 shall be dealt with as if such case had been transferred under Section 406 of the code to such designated court.

13. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code, all proceedings before a designated court shall be conducted in camera.

Providing that where the Public Prosecutor so applies, any proceedings or part thereof may be held in open court.

(2) A designated court may, on application made by a witness in any proceedings before it or by the Public Prosecutor in relation to such witness or on its own motion, take such measures as it deems fit for keeping the identity and address of the witness secret.

#### Protecting witnesses

(3) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of Sub-Section (2), the measures which a designated court may take under that sub-section may include—

(a) The holding of the proceedings at a protected place, (b) the avoiding of the mention of the names and addresses of the witnesses in its orders or judgments or in any records of the case accessible to public, (c) the issuing of any directions for securing that the identity and addresses of the witnesses are not disclosed.

(4) Any person who contravenes any direction issued under Sub-Section (3) shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year and with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

### **Precedence in trial**

14. The trial under this Act of any offence by a designated court shall have precedence over the trial of any other case against the accused in any other court (not being a designated court) and shall be concluded in preference to the trial of such other case and accordingly the trial of such other case shall remain in abeyance.

15. Where after taking cognizance of any offence, a designated Court is of opinion that the offence is not triable by it, it shall, notwithstanding that it has no jurisdiction to try such offence, transfer the case for trial of such offence to any court having jurisdiction under the Code and the Court to which the case is transferred may proceed with the trial of the offence as if it had taken cognizance of the offence.

### **Appeals:**

16. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code, an appeal shall lie as a matter of right from any judgment, sentence or order, not being an interlocutory order, of a designated Court to the Supreme Court both on facts and on law.

(2) Except as aforesaid, no appeal or revision shall lie to any Court from any judgment, sentence or order of a designated Court.

(3) Every appeal under this Section shall be preferred within a period of 30 days from the date of the judgment, sentence or order appealed from.

Provided that the Supreme Court may entertain an appeal after the expiry of the said period of 30 days if it is satisfied that the appellant had sufficient cause for not preferring the appeal within the period of 30 days.

### **PART IV: Miscellaneous:**

17. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code or any other law, every offence punishable under this Act or any rule made thereunder shall be deemed to be a cognizable offence within the meaning of Clause (C) of Section 2 of the Code and "Cognizable case" as defined in that Clause shall be construed accordingly.

(2) Section 167 of the Code shall apply in relation to a case involving an offence punishable under this Act or any rule made thereunder subject to the modifications that —

(A) The reference in Sub-Section (1) thereof to "judicial magistrate" shall be construed as a reference to "judicial magistrate or executive magistrate".

(B) The references in Sub-Section (2) thereof to "fifteen days", "ninety days" and "sixty days", wherever they occur, shall be construed as references to "sixty days", "one year" and "one year, respectively, and (C) Sub-Section (2-A) thereof shall be deemed to have been omitted.

(3) Sections 366 to 371 and Section 392 of the Code shall apply in relation to a case involving an offence triable by a designated Court subject to the modifications that the references to "Court of Sessions" and "High Court", wherever occurring therein, shall be construed as references to "designated Court" and "Supreme Court", respectively.

(4) Nothing in Section 438 of the Code shall apply in relation to any case involving the arrest of any person on an accusation of having committed an offence punishable under this Act or any rule made thereunder.

### **Bail conditions**

(5) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code, no person accused of an offence punishable under this Act or any rule made thereunder shall, if in custody, be released on bail or on his own bond unless — (a) the public prosecutor has been given an opportunity to oppose the application for such release, and (b) where the public prosecutor opposes the application, the Court is satisfied that there are

reasonable grounds for believing that he is not guilty of such offence and that he is not likely to commit any offence while on bail.

(6) The limitations on granting of bail specified in Sub-Section (5) are in addition to the limitations under the Code or any other law for the time being in force on grant of bail.

18. (1) Any power exercisable by a State Government under this Act may be exercised by the Central Government with the same effect as if such power had been conferred directly on the Central Government and had been delegated by that Government to such State Government.

(2) The Central Government may, by notification in the official gazette, direct that any power or duty which by this Act or by any rule made under this Act is conferred or imposed on the Central Government shall, in such circumstances and under such conditions, if any, as may be specified in the direction, be exercised or discharged also — (a) by any officer or authority subordinate to the Central Government, or (b) by any State Government or by any officer or authority subordinate to the State Government, or (c) by any other authority.

(3) the State Government may, by notification in the official gazette, direct that any power which by this Act or by any rule made under this Act is conferred or imposed on the State Government or which being by this Act or any such rule conferred or imposed on the Central Government has been directed under Sub-Section (2) to be exercised or discharged by the State Government shall, in such circumstances and under such conditions, if any, as may be specified in the direction, be exercised or discharged by any officer or authority subordinate to the State Government.

19. The Supreme Court may, by notification in the official gazette, make such rules, if any, as it may deem necessary for carrying out the provisions of this Act relating to designated Courts.

20. (1) Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction exercisable by, or the procedure applicable to, any Court or other authority under any law relating to the naval, military or air forces or other armed forces of the Union.

### **Doubts removed**

(2) For the removal of doubts, it is hereby declared that for the purposes of any such law as is referred to in Sub-Section (1), a designated Court shall be deemed to be a Court of ordinary criminal justice.

21. Every rule made by the Central Government under this Act shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament, while it is in session, for a total period of 30 days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive sessions and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive sessions aforesaid, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be. So, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

22. The provisions of this Act or any rule made thereunder or any order under any such rule shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any enactment other than this Act or in any instrument having effect by virtue of any enactment other than this Act.

23. Where an order purports to have been made and signed by any authority in exercise of any power conferred by or under this Act, a Court shall, within the meaning of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872, presume that such order was so made by that authority.

### **Immunity to Govt.**

24. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Central Government or a State Government or any officer or authority of the Central Government or State Government or any other authority to whom powers have been delegated under this Act for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Act or any rules made thereunder or any order issued under any such rule.—UNI.

### Report on Passage

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 May 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, May 20. The Lok Sabha today passed the anti-terrorist bill, providing for stringent punishment for terrorism and disruptive activities, including the death sentence.

The house voted only after the law minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, assured that the measure would be extended to Jammu and Kashmir after obtaining the concurrence of the state government. The house then adjourned sine die.

An appeal by the minister, at the end of an eight-hour debate, that the bill be passed unanimously keeping in view the dire necessity of such a law to deal with a problem affecting the integrity of the country, was, however, ignored by a section of the opposition. Several "no's were heard when the speaker put the bill to vote.

The law minister pointed to a provision in the bill that the measure would remain in force for a limited period of two years. "No democracy is worth the name if such a measure gets a permanent place in the statute book," he said and appealed to the opposition to let a united voice go out of the house against terrorism and to strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister to face this extraordinary situation.

#### Clause Amended

However, the CPI and CPM groups refused to relent. While the CPI member, Mrs. Getta Mukherjee, withdrew her amendment calling for circulation of the bill for eliciting public opinion, Mr. Basu Dev Acharya (CPM) pressed his move for referring the bill to a select committee. The move was, however, defeated by a voice vote.

The Janata leader, Mr. Madhu Dandavate, was the happiest of the opposition members as at least two of his amendments were accepted by the law minister, though they were moved by Mr. Sen later as government amendments.

A total of 155 amendments were moved by members, most of which were either withdrawn or rejected by voice vote.

The law minister yielded to appeals by opposition members, particularly Mr. Madhav Reddy (Telugu Desam), that safeguards be provided against encroachment



by the centre into the states' authority and amended a clause providing for "consultation" with the state government before the Centre directly steps up a "designated court" in a particular state.

The bill provides for the contingency of the Centre having to set up a "designated court" in a state if the state government concerned failed to set up such a court itself.

As amended the Section 18(1) reads as "any power exercisable by a state government under this act may after consultation with the state government be exercised by the Central government with the same effect as if such power had been conferred directly on the Central government and had been delegated by that government to such state government.

Another important amendment was to specify the authority which could issue orders for action under the rules to be framed under the act. The amended clause lays down that in the case of the Central government, it will be an officer not below the rank of a joint secretary and in the case of a state government not below the rank of a district magistrate.

One of the suggestions of Mr. Dandavate accepted was to delete reference to different media through which a disruptionist could act and limit to "any speech or acts through any media or in any manner whatsoever". Another amendment was the substitution of the word "sections" in place of "classes" in a clause for action against anything that could "promote feelings of ill-will, enmity or hatred between different classes of the people of India."

Asserting that government would no longer tolerate terrorism, the law minister called upon the members to give same support to government in dealing with this menace as they extended during 1962 war with China, the 1965 conflict with Pakistan and 1971 war for liberation of Bangladesh.

The danger from terrorism, he said, was as great one faced during wars. While during the two wars the enemy was known, it was not known presently where the foe was located and where from such forces were getting inspiration and arms.

Mr. Sen noted that the Sikh community had fought shoulder to shoulder with others for the country's freedom and participated in every nation-building activity.

He said the measure had been enacted to combat terrorism anywhere in the country not just in Punjab.

The home minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, assured the house that the bill will not be used to suppress movements of workers and political parties or encroach upon the authority of state governments.

Intervening in the debate on the bill, he said while framing its provisions, the government had never contemplated using them against genuine movements of the people.

Referring to allegations of some opposition members about the abuse of national security act, said most of the powers under the law had been delegated to the states for implementation.

The bill would provide powers to the Centre to intervene in a state if a situation was so created by the terrorists in any part of the country, he said.

Initiating the debate, Mr. C. Madhav Reddy (TD) said the bill should be passed unanimously after removing some lacuna, including the provisions under Clause 18 which seeks to delve into the powers of the states in the sphere of law and order--traditionally a state subject.

Mr. Saifuddin Soz (National Conference--F) said that the proposed law should be enforced only for one year as against the proposed two. It was possible that within a year sufficient amity was generated, making the law redundant.

Ultimately, he said, the government should adopt the Gandhian approach as violence would only breed more violence.

Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav (Cong.) said that the extremists and disruptionist forces had thrown a challenge which the entire nation was anxious to face. The situation that the country faced in Punjab last year could not be allowed to develop again, he said.

Mr. S. P. Sidnal (Cong) commending the objectives of the bill, said such legislation should not be temporary in nature. He wanted investigations to be systematic and scientific so that innocent people were not victimised.

Mr. M. C. Daga (Cong.) wondered why Jammu and Kashmir was being kept outside the purview of the bill. Suggesting unanimous passage of the bill in the house, he noted that terrorism had taken "a diabolic shape" in the recent past. There was a planned conspiracy behind the terrorist activities.

CSO: 5650/0168



28 June 1985

INDIA

## EXPLOSIVE CACHE, OTHER CLUES TO BOMBINGS FOUND

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 May 85 p 1

[Text]

Twenty kilogram of raw explosive, enough to manufacture about 400 transistor bombs, were recovered on Monday from the West Patel Nagar residence of the arrested lawyer Kartar Singh Narang.

This huge quantity of explosive, which could create havoc all over Delhi, was concealed in a steel trunk and kept on the roof of the house.

In addition to raw explosives, finished booby traps, and incriminating documents, were also found by a police jawan in the course of a search of the house.

The recovery established the link of the three persons arrested from the building on Sunday with incidents of transistor bomb explosions in the Capital and neighbouring States.

Available evidence indicated that about 150 bombs had already been manufactured in the premises. The police recovered lead casings, locally purchased batteries, wires, and other basic implements ready to give finishing touches to 20 death traps.

Ramifications of this staggering seizure are being worked out by the top level joint intelligence special cell. The recovery marks a major breakthrough in solving the carefully planned terrorist actions in which about 80 men, women and children were killed and a large number injured in Delhi, Haryana, UP and Rajasthan. The police have also found positive clues that the transistor casings were being made at an East Delhi factory.

The police suspect that the lead casings, which held the explosives, were also being forged in Delhi, but two persons reportedly engaged in forging them have gone underground.

It is learnt that the police are also looking for a terrorist with a science background who is considered to be the brain

behind the booby traps. They also believe that the mastermind is some other person and have drawn up a list of about 20 who are to be arrested, sources said.

The two-foot long steel trunk, in which the huge quantity of explosives was found at about 10 a.m. on Monday morning was lying under a heap of junk, on the opposite side of the water tank on the rear portion of the roof.

The jawan who discovered it stumbled upon it when he poked the heap with his nightstick and found something solid. As he removed the wooden pieces, a Campa Cola crate and some cotton in a bundle, the trunk was exposed.

On opening it, the police found the explosives which were in powder form as well as in tiffin-box type slabs in white packings. The explosives and the other substances were found beneath a layer of maps and other written material which is believed to have the details of the activities planned by the terrorists.

Immediately the Army's Bomb Disposal Squad was summoned and they took away the trunk which, sources said, was so heavy that the jawan could not even lift one side of it. What they had believed to be perhaps precious metal turned out to be a goldmine of evidence to have fallen into the police hands.

A bag containing the basic tools for making the transistor bombs was also found in the loft of the house.

According to the sources, the police had actually recovered two 9mm pistols and not one as given out by Mr Marwah and other senior officials. One pistol each was shown as recovered from the two suspects.

The neighbours, who were still quite dazed and in a state of disbelief, said that

Mr Narang, though of an amiable disposition, was largely aloof by nature. One of the neighbours, a senior Government official, who had known the Narangs for about eight years, said that he kept mostly to himself. Another person, who had known them for 15 years said Mr Narang had always been friendly but who could know what was in a person's mind.

About the rest of the family members, they said that elder son Ravinderpal Singh alias Cuckoo had not been seen for about a year and half, while the younger called 'Lovely' too had 'disappeared', a night before the events began. The mother, Jeet Kaur alias Jeeto, had also not been seen around for the past few days before the explosions began, they said.

CSO: 5650/0161

28 June 1985

## INDIA

## RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION OF DELHI BOMBINGS TOLD

## Over 30 Involved

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 19 May 85 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, May 18: About three dozen Sikh terrorists from Punjab and Delhi were involved in the recent bomb blasts in the capital, which took the life of about 45 people and injured 100 others.

The Delhi Police has so far arrested 11 terrorists, who were directly involved either in planting the bombs or manufacturing them. Three Sikh terrorists were arrested last Sunday from Patelnagar, another six, including a son of a BSF officer, were arrested yesterday from south Delhi, and two more were arrested today from New Delhi railway station, when they were about to board a Punjab-bound train.

Sources said that a few terrorists from this gang were also picked up from Punjab and Delhi by intelligence officials and were being interrogated at different places in the capital to obtain further leads in the case.

Kartar Singh Narang, an income-tax consultant in Delhi, whose Patel Nagar house was used for manufacturing the transistor bombs, has reportedly told the investigating officers that the kingpin in the conspiracy was a Sikh youth, Karam Singh Kohli (25), who is so far evading arrest. Intelligence men have alerted not only the Delhi police but also the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh police forces to apprehend Kohli, for whom a massive police search had been launched.

Narang has also reportedly told the police that Mohinder Singh Khalsa, who died in police custody after his arrest, was an electronics expert and had made

the transistor bombs. While another accused, Mohinder Singh Oberoi, used to supply explosive material to Khalsa, Kohli, the main conspirator, used to supply explosives to Oberoi, Narang added.

Police sources said that after Khalsa's death no one had come forward to claim his body, and finally, the police had cremated it.

The police today arrested from the railway station a taxi driver Buta Singh (24), and Jagir Singh, a truck driver. They are believed to have carried the empty transistor cases to Narang's house.

The six Sikh youths, arrested yesterday were today remanded to police custody for 12 days, till May 30, by the additional metropolitan magistrate, Mr Bharat Bhushan.

Those arrested yesterday include Manjit Singh, Narinder Singh, Dalvinder Singh, Harvinder Singh, Jaspal Singh and Gurmeet Singh. Manjit Singh reportedly told the police that one Gyan Singh, a granthi of the Punjabi Bagh Gurdwara of west Delhi, gave him 10 transistor bombs to plant at different places in the capital.

Manjit distributed those bombs to his three friends—five to Narinder Singh, four to Dalvinder Singh and one to Harvinder Singh, the son of a BSF commandant. Manjit Singh met Gyan Singh in the Gurdwara Rakabganj on April 28, when Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was addressing Sikh masses there.

Police sources have not confirmed whether the granthi, Gyan Singh, has been arrested, or not.

### Bombs Bore Alien Mark

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 May 85 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, May 20. The detonators used in booby-trapped transistors, which claimed more than 45 lives in the capital, were of foreign make through the country of origin was not very clear, according to some of the explosive experts.

The experts said the bombs comprised a lead casing, which contained about 200 grams of greenish explosive powder.

What made the device lethal was the lead casing which broke into small splinters with the impact of the explosion, causing minimum damage of property.

Explosive experts said most of the ingredients, including the explosive mix, were freely available in the market. Efforts were, however, being made to ascertain from where the detonators had been procured by the suspects. The possibility of these having been supplied by some organised agency could not be ruled out.

Meanwhile, the authorities here are maintaining close liaison with their counterparts in Punjab to verify the antecedents of a large number of persons named by suspected extremists arrested during last week.

#### Absence of Records

Sources said the names were revealed by the suspects during intensive interrogation. Some of the names were found to be common when the suspects were interrogated separately. Police parties have been sent to several cities in Punjab to trace them.

The police are also continuing the search for some 30 suspects who reportedly acted as couriers in planting the booby-trapped transistors. Six youths who were arrested from south Delhi on Friday night had admitted a large number of young men were recruited to plant the bombs.

What has made the job of tracing other suspects here more difficult is the fact that none of them have previous criminal records. Most of them were also not known to sympathise with the extremists. They were apparently motivated on the ground of religion after "Operation Bluestar" and the riots which followed the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in November.

While the police were reluctant to admit it, sources said the persons responsible for the spate of bombings last week appeared to be much more organised than was thought initially. The possibility of their having foreign links and plenty of money at their disposal could not be ruled out.

The confusion surrounding the identity of the brain behind the bombings also indicates that the organisation was well-knit and highly compartmentalised to avoid the arrest of the top leaders in case of the operating going astray.

The police, however, claimed that the back of the terrorist activity in the capital and north India had been broken with the arrest of the suspects from the west Patel Nagar house on Sunday last.

The torn diary recovered from Manjit Singh, who was arrested from Bogindpuri in South Delhi on Friday, could provide a lot of useful information, the police sources said. The jottings in the diary were being deciphered by a team of officials from the Delhi police, the Central Bureau of Investigation and various intelligence agencies.

At the same time, patrolling in the capital is continuing even as panicky citizens continued to swamp the police control room with calls about suspicious looking objects.

About half a dozen calls were received from Rajinder Nagar, Krishan Nagar, Lawrence Road, Lodhi Road, Shakti Nagar and Lajpat Nagar.

The Times of India News Service adds from Patiala: Three cases of conspiracy and promoting hatred among sister communities have been registered by the local police in connection with the provocative speeches made at the first convention of the All-India Sikh Students' Federation held at the gurdware dukh niwaran sehib here on May 17.

The cases were registered against Mrs. Bhupinder Kaur, Mr. Bakhshish Singh Dayalpuris and Mr. Karan Singh.

It was at this convention that Mrs. Bimal Khalsa, widow of Beant Singh, one of the two alleged assassins of Mrs. Indira Bandhi, was honoured and a resolution lauding the action of Beant Singh and Satwant Singh adopted.

PTI reports from Chandigarh: Security measures have been tightened at state and central government offices, and, other vital installations in Punjab, Haryana and Chandigarh in the wake of recent transistor bomb blasts and U.S. intelligence agency, FBI's disclosure of terrorist plans to attack government buildings.

The security personnel have resorted to strict enforcement of passes and identity cards of employees at the massive Punjab and Haryana civil secretariat building here. The visitors are also being subjected to metal detector tests.

The bags and brief cases of visitors are also thoroughly searched. Tight security has been enforced on the fourth floor where the offices of Haryana chief minister, Mr. Bhajan Lal is located. The security measures at the residences of at least nine judges of the Punjab and Haryana high court belonging to a particular community have also been tightened following the receipt of threatening letters by them on Saturday last.

A UNI report from New Delhi says, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has asked the governor of Punjab, Mr. Arjun Singh, to keep a strict vigil on terrorists to curb their activities.

Mr. Arjun Singh, who called on Mr. Gandhi, was also asked to strengthen the law, and order machinery to deal firmly with the terrorists.

Mr. Singh said an up-to-date review of the situation in the state had been done since Mr. Gandhi was leaving for Soviet Union on Tuesday.

#### Terrorist Posed as Inspector

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 May 85 p 1

[Text] May 20.--"Kohli", the "brain" behind the Delhi bomb blasts, had allegedly posed as an inspector of Delhi police to gain access to vital information and to slip out of difficult situations, police sources said.

Parts of the uniform and decorations of an inspector of Delhi police were reportedly seized from the residence of Kartar Singh Narang, one of the three men arrested from a West Patel Nagar house on May 12.

During interrogation, the name of "Inspector Kohli" was mentioned frequently. Evidently, the terrorist had been masquerading as an inspector and evaded arrest in major cases, including the bomb blast cases, police sources said.

Kohli, according to statements made by Narang and Oberoi, had conspired to plant bombs in Narang's house in late April and supplied some transistor bombs to them on May 9. He, according to them, met them several times on the main Patel Nagar road.

The description of the 25-year-old "inspector" given by the man in custody had been flashed to the Amritsar and Ludhiana police and the intelligence agencies, but as yet he has not been fully identified, sources said.

Some reports had indicated that the inspector's full name was Karam Singh Kohli, but this has not been confirmed since neither the man nor his address has been located. The police reportedly checked the house of a man by this name in Ferozpur Road, Ludhiana, but drew a blank.

Narang and Oberoi reportedly confessed to the investigating agencies that they had supervised the planting of bombs in various areas on a scooter.

Another indication of the possible involvement of Delhi police personnel in extremist activity was received yesterday when 58 cartridges of different calibre were found near the Parade Grounds in Kingsway Camp.

PTI adds: The delhi police arrested seven more Sikh terrorists this afternoon in connexion with the recent transistor bomb blasts in the capital.

According to Intelligence sources, the arrests were made from different parts of the city on clues provided by Narang and Oberoi.

Sources identified the arrested terrorists as Mammohan Singh, K. S. Bhola, Inderjit Singh, Gurdev Singh, Ravinder Singh, Tarjeet Singh and Swaranjeet Singh, all in their early twenties.

### Another Mastermind Identified

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 May 85 p 1

[Text]

MAY 21.—Yet another "mastermind" behind the recent explosions in Delhi and elsewhere in North India was named by the Delhi police today when the seven men arrested yesterday were produced in the court of the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, Mr Subhash Wason. He was identified as "Pappa of Punjab".

Prosecution said that "Pappa" had "created contacts with those who suffered losses in November", and one of his plans was to "blow up and kill prominent political leaders".

Mr Wason remanded the seven in police custody till May 27.

Police sources claimed today that they had not yet arrested Inderpal Singh Bhatia, the owner of a car parts shop in Azadpur. He was suspected to be one of the main financiers of the conspiracy. He is being questioned.

The seven men who were produced in Tis Hazari Court under heavy security were Kulbir Singh of Sarai Rohilla, Inderjit Singh, alias Choota alias Hapy of Shastri Nagar, Gurdev Singh, also of Shastri Nagar, Mammohan Singh of Tagore Garden Extension, Tarjit Singh of Geeta Colony, his brother, Sarbjit Singh, and Ravinderpal Singh of Lajpat Nagar.

Prosecution alleged that some of the arrested men had planned to kill political leaders like Mr H. K. L. Bhagat, Union Parliamentary Affairs Minister, and Mr Jagdish Tytler, M.P. from Delhi. This was reportedly disclosed to the investi-

gating agencies by Kulbir Singh.

Kulbir Singh's lawyer alleged in court that he had been detained since May 12 along with his father and brother, and had been tortured by the police. He pleaded that the accused be medically examined, to which Mr Wason agreed. Kulbir Singh had a bandage around his neck.

Prosecution alleged that Kulbir Singh had tried to commit suicide by slitting his throat with a piece of broken glass at the time of his arrest.

More than 190 cartridges of different bores were found in various parts of Delhi yesterday.

Our Special Representative in Chandigarh adds: The Haryana police claims to have worked out the case about bomb explosions in Sirsa and Hissar, resulting in the death of nine persons.

Three suspected terrorists, two belonging to Sirsa and one to Jalandhar, have been arrested. One of them died when he slipped from a bus at Hissar and the bomb in his possession exploded. The explosions, which occurred on May 10, were part of a series of bomb blasts reported from different parts of Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

UNI adds: Police today claimed to have solved the murder of Assistant Sub-Inspector Jagdish Rai Kanda, who was shot dead on April 4, after interrogating the terrorists led by Gurinder Singh.

The Bihar Government is understood to have alerted the administration along the India-Nepal border to keep a strict vigil on terrorist activities.

### Two More Held

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 May 85 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 22.

The police arrested last night, Inderpal Singh Bhatia and Surjeet Singh Kyeradia, believed to be among the key conspirators of the recent transistor-bomb blasts, taking the total number of arrests in the case to 20.

While Inderpal Singh, owner of a motor spare-part shop in Azadpur here, was said to be one of the financiers of the blast conspiracy,

Surjeet Singh allegedly provided technical expertise. Inderpal Singh had also reportedly secured Rs. 2 lakhs as compensation from an insurance company for losses suffered in the November riots.

Seeking the police remand of the two, the prosecution counsel, Mr. R. K. Khanna, submitted that they had conspired with Mohinder Singh Oberoi, now in custody and Jagdish Singh Narelawala, still at large. Surjeet Singh, he said, was an expert bomb-maker.

The two were charged with sedition, conspiracy, collection of arms, promoting enmity between groups on grounds of religion and race, and attempt to murder, and Mr. Khanna said they had to be interrogated.

When Mr. Rampal, counsel for Inderpal Singh, contended that his client was a heart patient and could not sustain strain for long, Mr. Khanna assured the court that sufficient medical aid was available in police custody and could be given, if required by the accused.

—UNI, PTI.

CSO: 5650/0167



INDIA

TRANSISTOR BOMB SUSPECT REPORTEDLY HAD FOREIGN LINKS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 May 85 p 1

[Article by Pratap Chakravarty]

[Text]

Investigating agencies now suspect international connections in the transistor bomb plot following statements of a suspected terrorist that he had visited some Sikh activists residing abroad in more than one western country.

One of the suspected terrorists Manjit Singh of Govindpuri, South Delhi has revealed that he had gone abroad to receive training in electronics. He has also revealed the source from where he had received finance for his trip.

According to Central Bureau of Investigation sources, Manjit Singh had left India after Operation Blue Star at the Golden Temple and was away from India even during Mrs Gandhi's assassination in October last.

Manjit Singh was arrested along with five others, including sons of two senior Government officials, in South Delhi on charges of planting 10 booby trap transistor bombs. The bomb explosions in South Delhi claimed at least nine lives on 11 May.

Initially Manjit Singh, 23, had stated that he had gone abroad to learn refrigeration techniques but later disclosed his close association with some of the most militant activists residing abroad, a CBI official claimed.

The police, while claiming that vital clues have been found from Manjit Singh, refused to elaborate further. The CBI sources said that Manjit Singh's impounded passport reveals that the suspect had travelled for six months through different western countries and had returned to India a month or so before the explosions in three northern States and in Delhi in which 84 were killed and 150 injured.

The diary of Manjit, filled with coded

numericals, has further revealed that the youth who started a refrigeration shop in Delhi on 1 May, was well associated with many Sikhs as well as foreigners in the western blocs.

The CBI sources said that the diary was mostly filled with addresses of people living abroad with coded numericals against some of the names. Preliminary examination of the diary, which is being decoded by CBI experts, suggests that the "marked" names were either funding extremists in India or were keeping in touch with them for greater conspiracies.

INDIA

BRIEFS

CHAIN UNDERGROUND GUN FACTORIES--Guwahati, April 25 (UNI): A chain of underground mini-gun factories was unearthed following a series of police raids conducted in different places under Bongaigaon and Jogighopa police station areas of Goalpara district in Assam. An official release said during the raids from April 19 to 22, 11 guns, two pistols, several unfinished parts and accessories of guns, besides a huge quantity of arm-making tools and ammunition, were seized. Nine people have been arrested in this connection. The release said preliminary investigation showed a "deep-rooted and widespread conspiracy" for the manufacture and distribution of illegal arms and ammunition to the underground extremist elements. Police investigations were on. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Apr 85 p 12]

CSO: 5650/0153

IRAN

COMMERCE MINISTER EXPRESSES OPTIMISM FOR GROWTH OF EXPORTS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 11 May 85 p 4

[Text] Lahijan. The minister of commerce announced: In order to help planting and harvesting and help make increased use of the tea plantations, in the current year, funds amounting to 2 billion rials have been put at the disposal of the tea planters of Gilan and the western part of Mazandaran.

Mr Hasan 'Abedi-Ja'fari, the minister of commerce, who is in Gilan Province to participate in the ceremonies at the beginning of the season for plucking the tea leaves, yesterday morning, accompanied by several deputies of this Ministry, the Majlis representatives of the people of Chahbahar, Golkhar, Esfahan, Lahijan and Bam; the political deputy of the Governor General's Office in Gilan; the director general of the national tea organization and a number of local officials visited the activities and significant output of the research office of the tea organization, which began operation last year, as well as the new tea dehydration plant in the region of "Bazkia Gurab" of Lahijan and was informed first hand of the purchase of green tea leaves and the problems of the tea planters in the region.

During this visit, the minister of commerce announced in an exclusive interview with IRNA: In order to purchase the green tea leaves from this year's harvest, about 36,000 hectares of the tea fields of the region, at a projected amount of 220,000 tons with funds amounting to 18.7 billion rials, are provided.

He said: This year, in addition to paying 2 billion rials in funds to about 40,000 tea farmers in the region, a loan of 650 million rials has been put at the disposal of such plants in order to help develop and equip tea dehydration plants.

Interview with Minister of Commerce

Considering the ratification of the articles of the bill on exports and imports, along with acquiring currency, the Ministry of Commerce will follow certain guidelines in conformity with the

general policy of the government in the area of creating jobs in the country, preventing the migration of villagers to cities and maintaining the presence of the government of the Islamic Republic on the international markets.

This statement was announced by Mr Hasan 'Abedi-Ja'fari, the minister of commerce, in an interview with IRNA in Rasht. He said: With the ratification of parts of this bill, this year important items such as construction stones, copper and 20,000 tons of cotton will be added to other export items of the country and this year will be much more successful than last year in terms of exports.

He added: In the export of some items, a growth of 300 percent will be witnessed and existing anxieties will be removed with the ratification of this bill. Other provisions for exporters can also perpetuate the presence of the Islamic Republic on the world markets, particularly in the Third World and Islamic countries.

In regards to plucking the green tea leaves produced this year in the country, the minister of commerce said: This year, noting the availability of various resources, such as the increased rate of purchase of green tea leaves, aid to the owners of tea dehydration plants, and efforts regarding the operations of the national tea organization to advance the quality and quantity of tea plucked, it is anticipated that the harvest level will increase to a figure of more than 220,000 tons. This amount will have an increase of more than 17,000 tons compared to last year's harvest.

In conclusion, he announced: Last year, following the export of items to various countries of the world, \$300 million in currency entered the country.

Also, in an interview with the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, the minister of commerce said: The 10-year decline of the export sector has ended and, fortunately, in certain export items, such as raisins and caraway seeds, we have had more than 300 percent growth.

He added: By the grace of God, the deception that the enemies of Islam have created regarding the export of the oil of the Islamic Republic of Iran has turned against them and we have been able to export our goods to foreign countries instead of having a single base of oil exports.

In regards to the export of carpets and the importance of such exports, the minister of commerce said: In this connection, much effort has been made, and by setting the preferred rates, the problem of the difference in price between the domestic and foreign markets has been eliminated. In the future, as well, more effective steps will be taken in this area.

In regards to freeing goods from the distribution restrictions, the minister of commerce said: In this area, we have gained vast experiences and thus far, positive success has been gained in the distribution of products such as rice, tea, cheese, major textile items and household goods. Under the present circumstances, up to about 90 percent of the decisions have been decisive and successful. On this basis, in the future as well, goods which are needed and demanded by the society will be free of these shackles and the people will be able to procure their goods freely.

Referring to the statements of the imam concerning leaving the people's work to the people, Mr Ja'fari said: In sessions held with merchants, businessmen, bazaar merchants and cooperatives of the private sector, the capability of the businesses and bazaar merchants is evaluated and some of the work which can be carried out by the private sector has been and will be conferred on the people.

Concerning the expansion of the cooperatives and the support of the government for non-governmental organizations, he said: In this area, the existing resources will be divided among the individuals and the members of various strata, so that, while more success is gained in trade and commercial affairs, the work will not be concentrated in the hands of particular groups and each member of the cooperatives will carry out the tasks which concern him.

He added: In this connection, thus far, in 150 cities of the country, the formation of cooperatives and leaving the people's work to the people has been carried out.

Also, last Thursday evening, Mr Ja'fari, the minister of commerce, participated in a session with Hojjat ol-Eslam Ehsanbakhsh, the representative of the imam in Gilan Province and Friday imam of Rasht, the governor general of Gilan, and a group of the directors general and officials of revolution organizations and discussed the commercial issues of Gilan Province.

In this meeting in which the deputies for affairs concerning the general needs, food, support and services of the Ministry of Commerce were also present, after recitation of verses from the Koran, the governor general of Gilan spoke on the situation of production and basic goods in this province. Then the minister of commerce spoke on the trade and economic advances of the country since the victory of the Islamic revolution in connection with the importance of rice, tea, lumber and domestic products and added: Since the increase in the cost of purchasing green tea leaves as well as the cost of drying them, we have witnessed favorable effects in this area. We hope with the efforts of the

tea planters, we will be successful in connection with self-sufficiency and severance of dependence on foreign countries.

He added: With the efforts and perseverance of the farmers and the implementation of the programs to increase production, last year, we succeeded in reducing tea imports by 30,000 tons. This amount indicates a decrease of 3,000 tons compared to last year.

Explaining the policies of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Ministry of Commerce in connection with the purchase of agricultural products, he said: Noting the successful implementation of the plan to purchase wheat from the hard-working farmers of our Islamic country, this year, the imports of wheat will decrease by 1 million tons compared to last year. The minister of commerce also added: In order to expedite the implementation of the developmental projects in the coastal and northern provinces of the country, this year, 2 million tons of cement will be put at the disposal of the developmental organizations of these provinces.

The CENTRAL NEWS UNIT report indicates that the minister of commerce also spoke about the role of the people in the commercial affairs of the country and the participation of the private sector in this regard in a session with the businessmen, bazaar merchants and members of the cooperatives of the Kasehforushan mosque in Rasht.

In this session, the representative of the imam in Gilan Province asked the Ministry of Commerce to undertake the necessary planning to eliminate the shortages of Gilan Province.

The same report indicates that Mr Ja'fari, the minister of commerce, and his companions visited the tea dehydration factory of Lahijan during their stay in Gilan Province and evaluated the possibility of further development regarding the planting of tea.

10,000

CSO: 4640/591

IRAN

ARTICLE CALLS FOR HELPING LEBANON

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 4 May 85 p 4

[Text] The Muslim revolutionaries in southern Lebanon have been able, through their resistance, bravery and faith, to attain other victories and once again prove how the enemy can be defeated or forced to retreat through unity and monotheism. What we witness in every inch of southern Lebanon is the self-sacrifice of a nation uprisen against the agents of global oppression, those who have created war in Lebanon for years and who prevent by any possible means the establishment of peace and a government that relies on the people's votes. They imagined that they would be able to suppress the masses who were suffering from the cruelty of those who continue plundering them without any problem and to silence any opposition movement.

The occupying regime of Jerusalem previously looked upon Lebanon as a highway for its political and economic influence in the Arab world and since long ago has been trying to bring the Phalangist Maronites to power in that country. After several instances of military aggression, it finally engaged in occupying Lebanon and, with the help of its allies, conquered west Beirut. But it was driven back step by step and it is about to leave that country completely, because it cannot withstand the attacks of the Muslim revolutionaries and is unable to respond to them. The admissions of the leaders of this regime and what has been printed in the Zionist press in occupied Palestine in themselves indicate the fact that Israel will not once again set foot in Lebanon and will not be able to turn southern Lebanon into another Golan, Gaza Strip or West Bank. Yitzhak Rabin, the present defense minister of the Zionist regime, who was formerly the minister of defense minister of that regime [as published], has explicitly declared that they will not set foot in that country again.

In the same connection, Shimon Peres, the prime minister of the occupying regime of Jerusalem, said: We committed numerous errors in Lebanon which we must not repeat. These confessions by those who had for years considered themselves the superpower of the region, claimed to have an invincible army and nurtured in

their minds the idea of an Israeli empire extending from the Nile to the Euphrates indicates the severity of the blow they received and against which they were incapable of any response.

The situation is so critical that the minister of communications of this regime has asked for an investigation into the 1982 Zionist attack on Lebanon and has accused Ariel Sharon, the [former] minister of defense, and Menachem Begin, the former prime minister, of deceiving the Cabinet, the Parliament and the people. The Zionists claim that 650 of their people have thus far been killed in Lebanon. However, not only do they not give any precise statistics in this connection, but they do not make any reference to the number of their wounded. Only once did Yitzhak Rabin confess that tens of thousands of their soldiers were wounded in Lebanon. The casualties which the Zionist army and its allies have suffered are so significant that were their forces to remain in southern Lebanon, they could have lost their combat capability and become totally disabled. An army that witnessed more than 200 guerrilla and suicide attacks against it without being able to respond to the Muslim revolutionaries not only lost its morale but became so weak that, as a result of desertions, massive rebellions and insubordination, its foundations were shaken and it was on the verge of disintegration.

The experiences of the United States in Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan are clear examples of the people's resistance against suppressive armies and ultimately revealed the inability of the armies despite their arms, personnel power and superiority. The Zionists have now tasted this bitter experience in southern Lebanon.

In the course of its wars with the Arabs, the Zionist army has been able to gain vast lands and has used the tactic of surprise invasion without resorting to long-term wars of attrition, because it lacks the necessary capability and forces to do so. Israeli wars with Arabs have generally lasted more than one week and have made use of various arms and pressure tactics to establish a cease-fire to end the active war; the battles have continued through artillery wars and ultimately through the UN forces, a stalemate of neither war nor peace was created between the parties.

Among the pressure tactics used by the Zionists to counter the Arabs were the stopping of the export of arms by the superpowers and the issuance of resolutions by the Security Council, the most important of which we witnessed in the wars of June 1967 and October 1973, and we also saw their usefulness.

In the course of its usurping government in occupied Palestine, even before it engaged in the establishment of Israel in accordance with the UN resolution in 1948, and during the British



mandate, it had never faced a massive, overall war and had not confronted such general opposition and armed resistance of the people as we are witnessing in southern Lebanon at the present time. Of course, it must not be forgotten that the Muslim people of the region, especially those of occupied Palestine, have a deep hatred for and enmity with the Zionists. But these explosive masses are disarmed by their compromising leaders and are put, with their hands tied, at the disposal of the occupiers. With hands tied, they are unable to counter the Zionists and their every action is severely suppressed, whereas their leaders falsely cry out for resistance at the negotiation tables and call themselves the heroes of the resistance.

### The First Spot

The first spot in which the Zionists have thus far witnessed the armed ideological resistance of the people and their crimes and suppression have not resulted in the situation turning in their favor is in southern Lebanon. For this reason, the Zionist army, which imagined it would be able to gain victory over the people by placing a few of its agents to take over the affairs and break down the centers of resistance, has become entangled in such a predicament that it is trying to escape from this swamp in any way possible and not to get itself more involved in problems.

The costs for the Zionists in southern Lebanon have had severe inflationary effects on the propped up economy of this regime, sending them towards bankruptcy. Had it not been for their allies in the United States and western Europe, who hastened to help them, they would have been faced with severe, irreparable economic chaos.

The withdrawal of the Zionists from Sidon and Tyre and the neighboring villages, which took place in the wake of the resistance and steadfastness of the Muslim revolutionaries, is the greatest political defeat for them and the best model for the combatants who are trying to liberate Palestine and other occupied lands in the Middle East from the claws of the Zionists.

### Preventive Measures

The Zionists and their allies in Lebanon imagined that the only armed group in that country that could rise up against them was the Palestinians. For this reason, they engaged in two political and military areas in openly and clandestinely countering the Palestinians.

Their first action was in the political arena, and through their infiltrating agents inside the Palestinian resistance organizations, they engaged in creating conflicts among the

Palestinians and the Muslim inhabitants of southern Lebanon.

[As published] in order to pit the Muslim people of the region and the Palestinians against each other.

The main factor in these conflicts were the leftist Palestinian groups who, without attention to what people held sacred and their beliefs, engaged in any improper action. The Zionists escalated these conflicts through various means and tried to deepen the gaps between them. The Palestinians, who had not realized the importance of the issue, unwittingly escalated the conflicts with improper behavior and actions. Meanwhile, there were also groups who avoided and prevented conflicts. However, ultimately, the trend of events turned in the interest of the Zionists.

In the military arena, three movements were followed.

First, the Zionist regime would severely bomb any place where it was determined that Palestinian guerrillas lived, inflicting much damage on residential areas and the people, then publicizing that it had done so because of the presence of the Palestinians. In this way, it psychologically forced the people to oppose the Palestinians.

Secondly, it tried by every possible means to weaken the Palestinian guerrillas and to drive them out of Lebanon. The civil wars of 1975-76 were created for this purpose, which resulted in the fall of the Tall al-Za'tar camp. At the same time, it strengthened its Phalangist agents and turned them into the strongest paramilitary group. This objective was achieved after the occupation of west Beirut by the Zionists, the exit of the Palestinian guerrillas from that city and ultimately the coming to power of a Phalangist president and the signing of the 1983 compromise between Israel and Lebanon.

Thirdly, in southern Lebanon, it created a barrier between the Muslim people and the

occupied Palestinian lands in order to turn the region into a gathering place for the Phalangists through its agents and prevent the guerrillas from being stationed on the border as well. For this reason, first, Sa'd Haddad, under the protection of the Zionist regime, engaged in creating free Lebanon and eliminating the Muslims, and after him, Antoine Lahd followed the Zionists.

With the Palestinian guerrillas leaving west Beirut, the total occupation of southern Lebanon by the Zionists and the rule of the Phalangists in that country, the Zionists thought that they had achieved their objective and there was no longer a force to oppose them. For this reason, after signing the compromise with the Phalangist regime in Lebanon, the massacre of the Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila, and the stationing of the multinational forces, they began with ease of mind to fortify their positions.

Meanwhile, the Arab countries, who constantly shout of Arabism and Arab nationalism and regard themselves as the supporters of Arabs, rather than countering the aggressors and calling the people to steadfastness and resistance, each in some way turned to compromise and raised the banner of peace. The leader of this movement was Saudi Arabia, which called others to compromise, and Fahd's peace plan was offered in this connection.

Although there was some opposition to the Fahd plan, this plan was approved in a different form in the meeting of Arab leaders in Fez, Morocco, and was supported by all the Arafat faction of the PLO and all the Arab compromisers, the Soviet Union and many other countries. The ratification of this plan showed that the leadership of the Arab world seeks compromise and is by no means willing to confront the Zionists. For this reason, the Muslims of Lebanon, devoid of group and party loyalties, became active and armed themselves to liberate their country from the occupation of the multinational and Zionist forces.

Paying no attention to the compromises of the leaders and the Beirut-Tel Aviv agreements, they began their activities and were able to gradually become the superior power in Lebanon. It was at this juncture that the analyses of the Zionists turned out to be wrong, one after another, and they lost their competence. Contrary to what they imagined, a force arose from among the people that was not only independent of the Arab countries but was so general and popular that it could not have been imagined.

Under the leadership of the clerics, the people took over the heart of the struggle and opposed any sort of dependence and occupation. They were able to inflict defeats on the

Phalangists, the Zionists, the multinational forces and the governing regime. The bombing of the Zionist headquarters in the south, the destruction of the U.S. embassies in Beirut, the destruction of the U.S. marine headquarters, the destruction of the headquarters of the French paratroopers, and the blows that were inflicted every day on the occupiers and their domestic allies not only made them helpless, but placed them in such a tight situation that they had to engage in inhumane actions, such as the bombing of mosques and public places and brutal bombings and massacres. But the Muslim revolutionaries gained new victories every day and advanced in achieving their goals.

At this time, the United States had mobilized, reconstructed and strengthened Lebanon's army to guard the Phalangists in that country and employed these forces to counter the revolutionary Muslims. But the Lebanese army could not continue its resistance after a while and some of its groups joined the Muslim revolutionaries.

#### Cancellation of the Compromise Agreement

The withdrawal of the multinational forces from Beirut and the cancellation of the May compromise agreement with the Zionist regime were among the successes achieved by the Muslim revolutionaries. This was followed by a change in the makeup of the government and the their emphasis on the elimination of ethnic and tribal concessions. In response to these demands, the Lausanne conference was created, which ultimately ended in the formation of the Cabinet of Rashid Karami and the presence of the leaders of parties in it.

But the Muslim revolutionaries continued their battles to drive out the occupiers, on the one hand, and to change the government makeup, on the other. Although these demands were followed by the opposition and resistance of the world-devourers and Phalangists, the lack of confidence in the Cabinet of Karami, its excessive instability and the blows that were inflicted on the Zionists every day made the enemy realize that it is faced with a faithful people's force which is supported by the public and even through suppressive actions, it will not be able to stop them.

In this crisis, the Phalangists showed that they do not have sufficient power to stop this wave. The allies of the Zionists in southern Lebanon also were so weakened and frightened that they had become a bothersome burden for the occupiers. Under such circumstances, while the struggle continued and was becoming more severe, not only was the PLO not there, but the Arab leaders were also waving the banner of peace and compromise and going from capital to capital of the permanent members of the Security Council.

In Tripoli, in northern Lebanon, in order to prove their superiority, the Palestinians began to fight each other, and rather than thinking about liberating their country, they pursued the conflict in taking the Nahr al-Barid camp from each other. It was the Muslim revolutionaries who, supported by public opinion and led by the clerics, took the banner of struggle and turned the whole of Lebanon into a center of struggle.

#### The Flight of the Zionists and the Destruction of the Phalangists

On Tuesday, 15 January 1985, the Cabinet of the Zionist regime approved the three-phase withdrawal plan from southern Lebanon which was offered by Yitzhak Rabin, the defense minister of that regime. At that time, many reasons were announced for this decision, all of which indicated the widespread resistance of the Muslim revolutionaries and the inability of the Zionists and their allies to counter them.

(Pusi Ulmer), a Zionist expert on Middle East issues of the University of Tel Aviv, said: The Shi'ites of southern Lebanon will never tolerate us as foreign occupiers. In this connection, the organization of the Islamic society of Lebanon announced in a communique: The partial or total withdrawal of the Zionist forces will not end the struggles of the Islamic resistance movement, because Israel not only occupies southern Lebanon, but has illegitimately usurped the whole of Palestine.

The three-phase withdrawal of the Zionists which the Cabinet of this regime determined on 1 June 1985 for total withdrawal is the first withdrawal of the Zionists in the wake of the people's resistance since the establishment of the occupying regime in Palestine. This withdrawal is taking place at a time when the Zionist regime is not occupied on any other front and is not faced with military operations on its borders. For this reason, the victory gained by the Muslim revolutionaries must be considered a significant victory, achieved by unity and faith, one which will continue.

If the Zionist regime, as it can be deduced from the confessions of its operators, were able to remain in southern Lebanon, it would by no means engage in withdrawal, because it was not faced with the opposition of the regime and the Arab world had accepted it. For this reason, this withdrawal must be considered their greatest defeat.

#### Withdrawal

With every step that they took in retreat, in addition to revealing the power of the Muslim revolutionaries and adding to the people's enthusiasm, the Zionists revealed the hollowness of their supporters as well. By withdrawing from Saida, a group of

the Antoine Lahd forces were killed and some of them deserted their ranks so that a part of their organization was totally dispersed. This trend continued until, with their withdrawal from the city of Tyre, the situation became so critical that Antoine Lahd asked for political asylum from the Zionist regime.

Before the announcement of the withdrawal from southern Lebanon, in a meeting between Yitzhak Rabin, the defense minister of the Zionist regime, and Antoine Lahd, it was determined that his forces should replace the Zionists and act in the region as the protectors of Zionist interests.

Following the failure to place the Phalangists affiliated with (Antoin Lahad) in southern Lebanon, this time, efforts were made to make use of the military branch of the Phalange Party. For this reason, suddenly Samir Ja'ja', the leader of the paramilitary Phalangists in northern Lebanon, declared a division and announced the reason for it as his opposition to the policies of Amin Gemayel. Following this incident and the total joining of the paramilitary branch of the Phalange Party with Samir Ja'ja', suddenly these forces which claimed to oppose Amin Gemayel set out for Saida to fight the Muslim revolutionaries.

This step by the Phalange Party took place with two objectives. Firstly, they intended to eliminate the signs of the Zionist defeat and once again create the notion in the public mind that the withdrawal of the Zionists from southern Lebanon could result in another civil war.

Secondly, [they intended to show] that the superior power in Lebanon is still the Phalangists, who want the continuation of the status quo in the government.

But their attacks on Saida and their five-week conflicts, which resulted in the killing and wounding of a number of people, could not prove their claims. Ultimately, after five weeks, they were forced to flee Saida, while they also faced defeats in Iqlim al-Kharub and Beirut. Hence, not only did the Phalangists not gain any credit, but their contacts with northern Lebanon were severed and the control of the Beirut-Saida coastal road fell fully into the hands of the Muslim revolutionaries.

With the defeat of the Phalangists, we witnessed the visit of Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, to Beirut and his talks with Amin Gemayel. Since the time that they dominated Lebanon, the French have always supported and aided the

Phalangists. But this time, the situation is quite different from the past and the Phalangists are not the superior power in Lebanon.

With the victories that have been gained, southern Lebanon will be fully liberated from the occupation of the Zionists and will regain its nominal identity. In this region, in addition to the fact that the Shi'ites and Sunnite brothers live in peace and friendship and continue arm in arm to fight the occupiers, they will not harm the innocent Christian civilians and have declared their support for them.

But the government of Lebanon has shown that it does not have the competence to rule these revolutionary Muslim masses and is unable to impose its rule. The reason is their lack of attention to the occupation of the south and the struggles which continued in this region while the officials tried to pluck the fruit of the gains of the uprising. For this reason, it must be said that southern Lebanon is alone and needs support, open and solid support, so that the people who have tolerated years of suffering, cruelty and torture will achieve their rights and will not be dominated again.

Under such circumstances, it is the duty of the Muslims of the world to, in any way possible, come to their aid and, by supporting the revolutionaries and the Muslim people in the region, not to allow the Palestinian tragedy to be repeated in this region. The Islamic Republic of Iran, which is the pioneer of Islamic movements in the world, has a very grave responsibility in this regard and must not pass over this issue simply, because if an accident occurs in the south, this time the killings will be more brutal and much more widespread.

10,000

CSO: 4640/585



PAKISTAN

BAN URGED ON IMPORT OF USED CLOTHING

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] The "used clothing" dealers have shown great concern at the news that, in the new import policy, the import of used blankets, curtain cloth and children's cotton dresses will be stopped. These businessmen call this step harmful to the interests of the poor and the middle-class people of the country. It is easy to understand this argument. It is true that almost everybody uses the imported used clothing. The business of making carpets and spreads out of imported woolen dresses is becoming wide-spread. But it is fitting that as a free and self-respecting people, we should gradually stop the import of foreign used clothing. Things have gone so far now that even used shoes are being imported. The import of used clothing is quite old, but recently it has taken on such dimensions that we are becoming a "nation dressed in foreign used clothes." In the beginning only woolen clothes were imported which were mostly used in the hilly regions of the north, but now every kind of used clothes and even blankets, bed-sheets and cotton clothing are being imported. This is not an enviable situation. The practice must be curtailed and limited. On one hand smuggled foreign goods are being sold everywhere, on the other foreign used clothes are used by everybody. If a person is known by the dress he wears, and if individuals make the nation, why are "Wear Pakistani," "Be Pakistani" and "Buy Pakistani" mere slogans? Why is nothing done to make them a reality?

12476  
CSO: 4656/120

PAKISTAN

BUDGET FOR NEW FISCAL YEAR ANNOUNCED

GF271556 Karachi DAWN in English 24 May 85 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 23 May: Presenting the first budget of the newly-elected government, the federal finance minister, Dr Mahbubul Haq, in the National Assembly here this evening estimated a modest surplus in the record budget of Rs [Ruppees] 14996.9 million for 1985-86 which envisages generous fiscal reliefs to fixed-income groups and tax concession amounting to Rs 4.69 million, as well as additional tax burden amounting to Rs 6.72 billion.

The increase in tax burden includes a 23 percent increase in railway fares, 10 percent increase in WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] tariffs, 10 percent increase in the prices of petroleum products, Rs 14.60 per 1,000 cubic feet of gas for industrial and commercial consumers, a 5 percent surcharge on imports designated as Iqra Surcharge which alone would yield Rs 4.68 billion.

The disinvestment of shares in public sector undertaking would provide Rs 2 billion to the government.

Announcing that from next year fixed salaries will be indexed to the rate of inflation, the finance minister said that those getting a basic pay of up to Rs 1,500 would receive an increase equal to 80 percent of the rise in cost of living and those receiving over Rs 1,500 would get a 60 percent increase.

He also announced increase in the basic pay of government employees drawing Rs 1,500 by 13.5 percent with effect from 1 July 1985. The increase would be 10 percent for those receiving basic pay of more than Rs 1,500.

He said the government had also decided that the private sector labour drawing wages up to Rs 1,500 should also get an increase of 13.5 percent. However, in those cases where under a bargaining contract or under a wage award an increase has already been given during the period since 1 January 1984, and the increase is less than 13.5 percent, only the difference would be payable from 1 July 1985.

The finance minister also announced that exemption limit for income-tax has been proposed to be raised from Rs 18,000 to Rs 24,000.

The tax rate in the lowest slab will be reduced from 10 percent to 5 percent and the tax rate in the highest slab will be reduced from 60 percent to 45 percent. The total number of slabs for income-tax purposes will be reduced from 9 to 5.

The federal finance minister also announced that pensions would also be indexed on the pattern of salaried groups and pensions below Rs 1,500 per month will get an increase of Rs 13.5 percent, while pensions of Rs 1,500 and above would be increased by 10 percent.

All pension incomes would be exempt from income-tax and pensions of widows have been restored for indefinite period. The commuted pensions whose period of commutation has ended have been revived. No maximum cut-off point would apply to pensions with effect from 1 July 1985.

In order to create a more scientific system of pensions for the future, it has been decided to establish a national contributory retirement fund from which enhanced benefits would be provided to government employees in future.

The finance minister said the government proposed to reduce corporate tax rate for public limited companies from 50 percent to 40 percent and, in addition, dividend income in the hands of the shareholders derived from such companies has been exempted from income tax. This exemption will also be available to NIT [National Investment Trust], ICP [Investment Corporation of Pakistan] Mutual Fund and Modaraba companies.

The finance minister said that if any assessee shows an increase in income of 20 percent or more over the preceding year, his income tax return would be accepted without any scrutiny.

He said, that in future no separate application would be required for tax refund. The refund vouchers would be automatically issued after the assessment of the case has been finalized.

The government has decided to grant 5-year tax holiday to the electronics industry in Islamabad and NWFP. Machinery and equipment for setting up these industries and components used in their manufacture of electronics are being exempted from customs duty.

The finance minister said the government had evolved a new system for eliminating the evil of under-invoicing and over-invoicing and it had also been decided that in future exports would be given credit for a uniform period of 5 months and would carry up to 6 percent rate of return. 'Similarly, domestically-manufactured machinery will be given export finance for 12-1/2 years at a maximum rate of 6 percent before shipment and 7 percent after shipment.

The government had also decided to remove all controls from the production and sale of cement. There would be no price control on cement, nor would any permission be required to set up new cement factories.

To ensure effective protection for the domestic output of cement, the present ad valorem import duty of 70 percent on imported cement is being replaced by a specific duty of Rs 550 per tonne.

The government had also decided to sell a part of the shares of profitable units to the general public and in this connection, for the time being, the government had selected a portfolio of shares to the value of Rs. 2 billion for the purpose. These shares would be sold in a manner that ensures wide dispersal of share ownership.

The labour of these units would receive such shares on a preferential basis. For the sale of these shares the government has appointed a number of underwriters, including NDFC [National Development Finance Corporation] Bankers' Equity and ICP.

The finance minister said the government policy provides encouragement for setting up investment companies. A national development leasing company has already been established under the scheme.

Regarding permission for setting up private banks in the country, the federal finance minister said this was a delicate issue and the National Deregulation Commission would be requested to submit its recommendations on this question within next 6 months.

The finance minister said it has been proposed that the scheme of government borrowing, including longer-term bonds and treasury bills, savings certificates, prize bonds, khas [special] deposits and small saving accounts of various types may be continued in their present form as these are not considered riba [usury].

He said there was also no need for making any change in the federal arrangements between the federal government and the provincial governments and between these governments and bodies corporate under their control such as State Bank of Pakistan and WAPDA.

The finance minister said that withholding a tax of 10 percent introduced on interest income from bank deposits last year will be discontinued from 1 July 1985.

The finance minister said that bearer-type zero coupon bonds would be issued. These national funds bonds will be for a period of 1 year, 2 years and 3 years. They will not carry any interest. They will be issued at market-related prices from time to time.

These bearers bonds will be saleable at the stock exchange and will not be subjected to income-tax or compulsory deduction of Zakat.

It is proposed to issue these bonds initially on tap at Rs 89 for 1-year bonds, Rs 79 for 2-year bonds and Rs 69 for 3-year bonds, against the face value of Rs 100.

For mopping up black money the finance minister proposed issuance of special national funds bonds. These bonds will be registered in the name of buyers and no question will be asked about the source of funds.

These will be on tap for a specified period and will be sold at Rs 90 for each Rs 100 bond. The maturity period will be 2 years and on maturity the amount paid to the holders will be treated as white money. These bonds can be used as collateral for advances from banks.

It has also been proposed to issue foreign exchange bearer certificates. These certificates will be bearer instruments and will be issued against payment in foreign exchange and can be encashed any time.

The encashment may also be at the option of the holder in foreign exchange at any time at the prevailing exchange rates. When encashed in rupees, the proceeds of these certificates will be regarded as legitimate wealth of the recipient.

The encashment value for Rs 100 certificate will be Rs 114.50 after 1 year, Rs 131 after 2 years and Rs 152 after 3 years.

There will be no restrictions on the import or export of such certificates. This instrument is expected to be highly suitable for Pakistani workers abroad who will be able to earn reasonable rate of return, while keeping the option open for encashment in foreign exchange.

Turning to the overall balance in the budgetary position, the finance minister said the government was faced with projected deficit of Rs 29.7 billion in the budget for 1985-86 which was brought down to Rs 13.60 billion by curtailing non-development expenditure, reduction in defence expenditure, improved tax collection measures and an increased utilization of foreign assistance.

As a result of Iqra Surcharge, increase in gas charges and the disinvestment of shares in public sector corporations and industrial units, this deficit will be reduced further to Rs 4.88 billion.

The concessions announced in the budget for government employees and pensioners and the proposed relief in taxes would cost the exchequer Rs 4.69 billion. Thus an overall resource mobilization of Rs 9.57 billion is required which the finance minister hoped will be obtained through the issue of new bonds announced in the budget.

Additional resources from "Iqra Surcharge" of 5 percent on imports, gas price-hike and disinvestment of public sector industries will yield Rs 8720 million. Thus a gap of Rs 4880 million will be left. To this an additional Rs 4690 million will be added on account of facilities to government servants and relief in taxes which will increase the resource gap to Rs 9570 million. This is proposed to be met by new measures and laundering of black money, which is expected to yield more than the requirement, leaving even a small surplus.

## Budget at a Glance

(Rs in million)

	1984-85 Head (Revised)	1985-86 (Budget)
I. Expenditure:		
Current expenditure	78,009.8	82,649.4
Development expenditure (ADP)	33,837.0	40,800.0
Total	111,846.8	123,449.4
II. Resources:		
A. Internal Resources		
Revenue Receipts (Gross)	77,776.6	86,896.8
Capital Receipts (Net)	11,742.6	9,242.3
Autonomous Bodies' Self Financing	1,905.9	3,952.2
	91,425.1	100,091.3
Less: Transfers to Provinces	11,943.6	13,507.0
Total (net)	79,481.5	86,584.3
B. External Resources	14,784.1	26,659.5
Total	94,265.6	113,243.8
Less: Development grants to provinces for education	-----	3,394.3
Total (Net)	94,265.6	109,849.5
C. Resource		
GAP (I-II)	17,581.2	13,599.9
		(Say 13,600.0)

CSO: 4600/454

PAKISTAN

SIND MINISTER COMMENTS ON WATER CRISIS

GF251344 Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 85 p 1

[Text] Karachi, 20 May: Some improvement in Indus flow recorded at Attock on 9 to 11 May reached Guddu barrage Monday, where the discharge was recorded at 54,800 cusecs. This improved position is likely to last for about 2 to 3 days.

This was disclosed by the provincial minister for irrigation and power, Pir Sibghatullah Shah, while talking to a delegation of growers from Thatta which called on him at his office, according to a handout.

He said, Ghotki feeder and Pat feeder of Baluchistan were opened Monday, with discharges of 1,000 and 500 cusecs respectively. This supply has been diverted for meeting drinking water and other domestic requirements.

The minister said this supply is proposed to be maintained for approximately another 10 days, after which some improvement in river supplies is expected.

He further said that there has been a drop in Indus river flow from 13 May at Tarbela, while flow in Kabul River has remained steady. This situation persisted till 18 May. Now the temperature at Skardu has again risen to 25° C, which will help melt more snow.

He said if the temperature remained steady even at this level, more supplies are expected in the Indus. However, the effect of improved supplies will start reaching Guddu and Sukkur barrages by about 1 June, which would result in greater supply of water to upper sind canals.

The minister said that at Guddu barrage the shortage in river supplies for meeting the irrigation water requirements is 100 percent. At Sukkur, the shortage is 37 percent. Due to this shortage, the perennial canals of NWC [expansion not known] and Dadu on the right bank which irrigate about 1.4 million acres of land, are almost completely dry.

He said the rice canal, which irrigates 500,000 acres, is also virtually totally dry. The sowing of rice [word indistinct] is area has already been delayed by 25 days.



The minister further said that the meagre supply available at Sukkur is being drawn into the left bank canals, through which it is being distributed according to a rotation schedule. Nearly 30 channels in Rohri canal command remain closed for 7 days in alternate weeks, and the Khairpur east and west feeders are being supplied by rotation.

He said that at Kotri barrage the shortage in meeting the current irrigation water demand is 62 percent. However, a steady supply of about 6,000 cusecs has been ensured by curtailing withdrawals at upper Sind barrages.

The minister said that this has been done basically for meeting drinking water requirements in Kotri barrage command and in the metropolitan areas of Karachi. Due to steady supply of 6,000 cusecs at Kotri barrage, the level of Kinjhar Lake which had dropped to rl 44.6 on 10 May, has now risen to rl 45. Consequently, water supply for Karachi has been ensured, the minister added.

Due to the shortage of canal water, the Kharif [fall crops] sowing in Punjab is getting very late, and cotton cultivation so far is less than 10 percent.

The situation in Trimmu canal area is especially critical, where famine conditions are appearing.

On the whole, Punjab indus canals are running low at only 15,400 cusecs, as against 42,000 cusecs last year.

Although there is a general water shortage, during the last 10 days Punjab has suffered a shortage of 60 percent, whereas Sind canals have been running to nearly two-thirds their capacity.

In Trimmu headworks canals, the water level has further fallen to only 1,200 cusecs, whereas at this time last year it was 21,000 cusecs. In addition, the Haveli canal, Trimmu-Sidnai link and Rangpur canal have dried up.

Other indus canals in Punjab are also running very low. The flow of water in Taunsa-Panjnad canal is only 3,885 cusecs as against 8,538 last year.

CSO: 4600/454

PAKISTAN

GENEVA TALKS: NEXT ROUND VIEWED

GF081802 Karachi DAWN in English 5 Jun 85 p 7

[Editorial: "Back to Geneva"]

[Text] The forthcoming round of indirect talks on Afghanistan which are likely to open in Geneva on the 19th or 20th of this month promises to be crucial in many respects. The outcome should indicate whether the parties to the dispute are ready to move forward or whether they prefer to remain stuck in the old byways. If there is progress, there will be hope for the future, but if the discussions lead nowhere, whatever little has been achieved at Geneva will be put at risk.

While the talks so far have been protracted and arduous, and the lack of success in them has been frustrating, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that they have achieved agreement on certain basic issues. All the parties involved have a pretty clear idea about the necessary elements or contents of a final settlement. But to the extent that the discussion of technical issues has been left behind, the Geneva process can be said to have reached a watershed. From now on, if the parties are to avoid charges of procrastination, they must move on to more substantive issues. Failure to do so would indicate that they either lack the will for a settlement or that, for reasons of their own, they have developed a vested interest in the continuation of the crisis.

It is important in this respect to ensure that the atmosphere surrounding the talks is not spoiled, as it is bound to be if there is no let-up in the frequency of bombings and crossborder violations from the other side of the Durand Line. The trading of charges on the Mattni incident of April 27 has also contributed to a worsening of the psychological climate.

Reports in the foreign press regarding the stepping-up of covert aid to the Afghan guerillas have not been helpful. Nor have suggestions in various forums in the United States regarding the need to establish an air bridge which would open a direct supply line to the Afghan guerillas.

While these are some of the road blocks in the way of a settlement, it should be equally clear that a continuation of the crisis is not in the real interest

of any of the states of the region. They have everything to lose and nothing to gain if tensions being fed by this crisis are allowed to grow. It is bad for the superpowers as well because it acts as an irritant across the whole spectrum of their relationships.

It, therefore, becomes imperative to ensure that short-term considerations are not allowed to come in the way of a lasting settlement. If the Soviets make the announcement of a firm timetable for the withdrawal of their troops from Afghanistan contingent upon certain conditions, principally guarantees of non-interference from the United States, is it not a worthwhile idea to put them to the test? Assurances of non-interference and non-intervention are a small price to pay if they lead eventually to a total withdrawal of Soviet troops and the honourable return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. In this context, it is worth considering the question of direct talks with the Ikarmal regime because direct negotiations per se would not imply its recognition.

Meetings were held in Warsaw between the American and the Chinese ambassadors several years prior to the actual U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China. The important thing is that insistence on semantics or a strong emphasis on technicalities should not obscure the substance of peace. If it does, it will furnish proof for the insinuation that the sides are dragging their feet and playing for time.

The opportunity represented by the forthcoming round should, therefore, not be missed, for if it is frittered away, one can safely assume that attitudes will harden and the situation on the ground will get worse. And no one will be any the better for it because everyone understands that there can be no military solution to this problem.

CSO: 4600/473

PAKISTAN

GROUP FORMATIONS SURFACING IN PEOPLE'S PARTY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 20 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Mohammad Ali in the column "Sind Diary"]

[Text] In Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto, on 14 April, differences within the banned People's Party came to surface and there are new possibilities of factionalism. It is a fact that there has developed a gulf between the leadership and the workers of the party and the party is making frantic efforts to maintain its political existence. But because of public participation in recent elections and because of the ratio of voting in rural areas, people of the landlord class associated with the party have come under harsher criticism, and workers from the middle class have held discussions to rid the party of feudal leadership. It cannot be denied that on 14 April in Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto workers and youth of the People's Party had control of the party while members of the landlord class made token appearances and left. On the occasion of the anniversary, the banned People's Party appeared divided into several groups. The youth element of the banned People's Party adopted the political line of Benazir Bhutto, whereas the Mumtaz Bhutto group was busy preaching the confederation view. Former chairman of the banned Karachi People's Party, Maulana Ehtram ul Haq Thanvi, took a position against the feudal leadership. Followers of Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi were greeting their leader with the red salute. The Sind People's Labor Organization, which agrees with the confederation view of the Mumtaz Bhutto group, distributed a pamphlet "Country Based on Four Regional Nationalities--a Question of Survival" in support of Mumtaz Bhutto's four-point confederation proposal. The pamphlet states that it is a bitter reality that this country based on four provinces, is not geographically integrated but is split by the adamant attitudes of the ethnic groups. The military neither can nor wants to save it. Being convinced that the country is broken up, the military rulers have started moving gold deposits, the central offices of the State Bank, the PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] and naval headquarters to Islamabad. Now even control of the Karachi Electric Supply Corporation, which is a Karachi civic institution, has been handed over to WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], the main office of which is in Lahore (Punjab). Similarly, as part of a planned conspiracy, the entire industry of Karachi has been ruined through load shedding and stopping the supply of gas. Conditions around the country and the harmful effects of foreign and domestic conflicts are ruining the country. Before the stridency of the rulers, the lack of popular participation in power at the highest level and a feeling of deprivation result in a tragic situation like that in East Pakistan, in some form or another we will have to maintain the integrity of this remaining entity, Pakistan, of Quaid-e Azam and martyr Quaid-e Millat [Liaquat Ali Khan].

Therefore, all the provinces will have to be formed into a federation of independent states. The Sind People's Labor Organization supports Mumtaz Bhutto. The resolution of the banned Sind People's Student Federation [SPAF] resembles the manifestoes of the Mozambique and Angola Marxist organizations. The banned Sind People's Student Federation openly supported Afghan revolution and condemned military intervention in Afghanistan. It objected to the presence of "Afghan deserters" in Frontier Province and Baluchistan and declared the Pakistan Government's intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan to be against international principles. This organization expressed solidarity with the masses of Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Iran. It criticized the worldwide madness of international American imperialism and the rapacious policies of the World Bank and other institutions. In resolutions it condemned distribution of land in Pat Feeder to members of the armed forces, described Kala Bagh Dam as a conspiracy against Sind and demanded more independence for the four provinces. Benazi Bhutto's letter to a worker was another indication of the banned People's Party leadership's policy. In this letter Benazir Bhutto supported socialism. Her style of writing was aggressive and extremist. She wrote: "These people are the descendants of Yazid [killer of Prophet Imam Hussain] and menial slaves of capitalists. How can they teach us Islam? One should not be confused by their propaganda against socialism. This is not an issue of Islam and socialism. Islam is based on two relationships, one between God and man, and the other between man and man. One is spiritual and the other is worldly."

Just as there are differences in approach to religion, because of which there have arisen Sunnis, Shia and several other sects, similarly there can be differences of opinion over Islam's economic point of view. From the economic point of view, we believe in socialism and that only socialism should be the economic system of Muslim nations.

Members of the banned Punjab People's Party were watching very carefully the struggle of the various groups in Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto. They learned the future trends of Sind politics. The Sind members were debating subjects like confederation and the independence of provinces and it looked as though they were aware that between the banned Punjab People's Party and the Sind People's Party there was a difference in point of view. In Punjab, the People's Party has a different style whereas in Sind the party's workers are against Punjab's domination. They hold this important province responsible for hanging Bhutto. A worker of the banned People's Party said: "Our belief is that we have not yet determined our way." Another worker said sadly: "Even on 14 April in Garhi Khuda Bakhsh we Sindhis get reduced to a minority." The opinion of the majority of members of the banned People's Party was that it was just the beginning of the process and that the landlord class, in the name of parliamentary politics, will gradually leave the party.

In Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto one became aware that some prominent members of the Bhutto family were carefully watching current changes in the country and were examining the political scene and political events. It is possible that in the near future the banned Peoples Party's role in parliamentary politics may increase. But in parliamentary politics only Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi can maintain his influence because he still wants restoration of the 1973 constitution and

constitutional authority. On the other hand, Mumtaz Bhutto in his political paper has clearly taken the stand that for restoration of democracy a clean and solid program is essential. For this, it is not enough to demand that the 1973 constitution be restored and elections held on the basis of it. This road will take us nowhere. This will result in a new military dictatorship. Mumtaz Bhutto's argument is that the 1973 constitution, however good it may be, provides us with the already tried and failed federal-style government system. We should admit with honesty and courage that the political system under which we live has to be fundamentally changed. We should not foolishly cling to a form of government which has brought us nothing but sorrow and hardship. It is necessary that we open our eyes and see the storm clouds that are hanging over our heads.

Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi, however, has put forward a 14-point demand. It asks for an end to arrests, an end to martial law, withdrawal of the proposed amendments to the 1973 constitution, complete restoration of the 1973 constitution, withdrawal of cases started under martial law, discontinuation of military courts for petty crimes, restoration of fundamental civic liberties, freedom of the judiciary, restoration of judicial rights, restoration of political parties, release of arrested political workers, the end of restrictions on travel by political leaders to different provinces, repeal of the Press and Publications Act, repeal of the Bar Council Act, and payment of compensation to the Movement for Restoration of Democracy.

Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi says that he has no quarrel with the members of national and provincial assemblies, the prime minister and chief ministers. They, too, are our comrades. But we have our own principles and programs. We will not become an obstacle in the way of elected members of assemblies. But they will have to work for the rights of the people. If Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi's 14 points have been put forward with the agreement of the MRD leadership, then one thing is certainly to be accepted and that is that the MRD wants to get rid of the politics of confrontation and violence. But by referring to the 1940 Declaration of Pakistan and independence, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi has supported Mumtaz Bhutto's political view in the banned People's Party. On this, Maulana Ehteram ul Haq Thanvi's comment is worth noting. He described Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi's stand as negation of the party's principles.

Following Bhutto's anniversary and the 12 April student convention in Larkana, a wave of violence has again flared up in the educational centers. When the banned People's Party was in power, this organization had split into two factions. One faction was led by Ghulam Mustapha Bhutto and the other by Rano Khan Bhutto. Ghulam Mustapha Bhutto is associated with the Mumtaz Bhutto group and Rano Khan Bhutto with the Jatoi group. On 12 April at the Chandio Medical College Larkana convention, those who took part were: Azim Faridi from Frontier Province, Aijaz from Punjab Province, president Iqbal Hussain Shah from Baluchistan, Amir Ali Amiri from Sind, Mohammad Iyas Chaudhary from Azad Kashmir, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi's adviser on students, Imtiaz Ali Taj, Rafiq Ahmed Sheikh and Abid Raza Naqvi. After the convention, a 15-member liaison committee of Pakistani People's Student Federation was set up so that an organization of students supporting the banned People's Party might be set up on a national level.

After this there was confrontation between students of the SPAF and supporters of Jiye Sind. Pro-Jiye Sind students want control over educational institutions in Sind and they have had direct confrontations with SPAF. As a result of this conflict between these two student organizations in various institutions, Ali Mardan Shah, Jan Mohammad Khoro, Amir Mohammad Bachkani and Manzoor Chandio of SPAF have been killed. During the 12 April fight, SPAF's Akbar Bhutto, Ghulam Hussain Brohi, Barkat Khosa, Aziz Baloch, Abdul Khosa and Abdul Rashid Brohi were seriously injured. Benazir Bhutto wants to set up a nationwide organizational structure. But the majority of the banned Sind People's Student Federation is against a Pakistan-wide organization. Their argument is that they support Sind nationalist activities on a limited basis. And in educational institutions they have to face extremists. If they form an organization on the Pakistan level, they will not be able to counteract the influence of Jiye Sind supporters in educational centers. The Jiye Sind student organization is divided into three groups, of which one group calls itself the Organizing Committee and another calls itself Progressive. The Jiye Sind Student Federation is a follower of G. M. Sayyed. Its central president is Shafi Karfani. The direct leader of the banned Sind People's Student Federation is Benazir Bhutto. Ghulam Mustapha Jatui and Mumtaz Bhutto maintain contacts with it in order to safeguard their influence. After 12 April, the banned People's Party tried to mobilize its youth group. But Jiye Sind students stopped it as they are not prepared to give up their control over educational institutions.

By expressing his views on the formulation of a constitution on the basis of the 1940 declaration, Ghulam Mustapha Jatui has challenged the influence of his opponents in the party and also indicated his political associations for the future. Ghulam Mustapha Jatui's new political stand will help Sind youth, especially SPAF, in counteracting Sind nationalist students. But it appears to be clear that the emerging conflicts have not yet become clear. Only after the distribution of government appointments will it be easy to form a definite opinion of the real political situation.

12286

CSO: 4656/124



PAKISTAN

PARTY POLITICS ENCOURAGED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 28 Apr 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Parliamentary Groups and Political Parties"]

[Text] According to a report, the agenda for the 29-30 April conference of the federal cabinet includes, in addition to the next fiscal year's budget and other problems, the issue of how to utilize effectively the National Assembly elected on a non-party system. One suggestion is to establish parliamentary groups. Some members of the parliament have expressed this desire to Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. Other members even want to reinstate a limited number of political parties. Registration of political parties has been proposed in this context.

National and provincial assemblies have come into existence after these non-party-based elections. The members have expressed confidence in the newly-elected prime minister and state chief ministers. However, significant time (over 1 month) has passed and the only action taken was the establishment of a federal cabinet and the creation of a provincial government for Baluchistan. In the remaining three provinces, the only progress in the process for transfer of power has been the swearing in of chief ministers! The reason for this delay in forming various ministries is the lack of organization among these members elected on a non-party system. The groups formed right after the elections were just to show that most of the members supported various chief ministers. These groups disappeared as soon as this process was completed. The present efforts at forming various groups are aimed at getting themselves or their associates elected as ministers. Only 8 percent to 10 percent of the members can become ministers. How the remaining members will react after various ministries are formed is an important issue.

Against this background, the report about assembly members debating the issue of parliamentary groups and political parties is not surprising. Even at the time of elections the issue of how these assemblies, formed on a non-party system, will be able to function effectively was raised openly. That is all in the past now. The future of our parliament is also tied to the fact that the general elections were held without involvement of political parties. The president had promised that the elected assemblies would tackle the issue of political parties. Recent reports indicate that assembly members have started to work on it. This issue is so important that even the federal cabinet is reviewing it.



The results of these deliberations will be out in time. It is clear, however, that this experiment of parliamentary groups will not be successful or permanent. Whatever groups we make cannot replace political parties. We have to accept the concept of political parties in order to run effectively a parliamentary system. The activities of parliamentary groups will be limited to the legislative houses alone, while political parties will influence these houses as well as the people in our country. At the time of the non-party elections, we stressed the importance of political parties in these columns. We had suggested that after the elections only political parties with national standing and the ability to obtain balanced votes in all provinces should be recognized. Since this would have told us what most people in our country wanted, no supporter of the democratic system could object to it. This strategy has worked in Jammu and Kashmir where several political parties were forced to form coalitions. We wish Pakistan had followed this democratic method of participation by chosen political parties before these elections. The country would have passed some initial phases of establishing strong political party bases.

Political parties are a basic ingredient of the democratic system. Unfortunately, this important aspect of democracy has been suspended in our country for a long time. Political parties have been banned since October 1979. Political action is also banned. Still, defunct political parties had let their existence be known and politicians had kept affiliations with one or another party. During the recent provincial and national elections, several persons with open association with some political party or other were elected. According to the Muslim League leader, Pir Sahib Pagara, a large number of the elected persons belong to the Muslim League or support its philosophy. Jamaat-e Islami claims to have 25 to 30 of its members in the national or provincial assemblies. Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam (Abid Allah Group) also has some of its members elected. Jamiat-e Ulema-e Pakistan, though it did not take part in the elections, had some of the people who supported its boycott of elections elected in Karachi and other areas. They have formed their own group and even got one person elected to the federal cabinet. However, all of these groups are loosely formed and one cannot definitely predict their roles in the assemblies. Will they cooperate with the government or oppose it after becoming ministers? In other words, nothing is clear and, as long as political parties are not recognized, the picture will remain blurred. Our government's major worry is to have the budget passed by the national and provincial assemblies. The government has resources to overcome this hurdle. We, however, cannot rule out some insurmountable problems. Elected members who have spent fortunes on elections will not tolerate becoming puppets. A government needs support from the people and in the legislative houses. This power cannot be obtained without political parties. It is essential that parliamentary procedures be followed while approving the budget. It requires a lot of hard work and good will. The major need is still the existence of political parties.

PAKISTAN

# MRD LEADERS' STATEMENTS CALLED CONTRADICTORY

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Constitution: Restoration or Amendment?"]

[Text] The meeting of MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] leaders in Karachi ended after 4 days. The result of this long conference of leading politicians was disappointing. The central committee of the MRD is attaching great importance to this event and MRD sources still insist that this union of 11 parties is the last hope for the restoration of democracy in the country and that its existence is in itself worthwhile. After arranging a meeting of several flag-bearers of democracy in Karachi, however, all this "worthwhile" alliance accomplished was to make the issue of provincial autonomy, already settled in the 1973 constitution once again controversial. While agreeing in principle that the states should be given greater autonomy, the conference appointed a committee which will suggest amendments to the 1973 constitution. However, the differences that exist on this issue among the leaders of the MRD, the so-called last hope for the restoration of democracy, have surfaced. Those individuals who led the demand for re-determination of provincial autonomy argued that since the 1973 constitution has ended, so has the provincial autonomy agreed upon in the constitution. On the other hand, these are the same individuals who are clamouring for the restoration of the '73 constitution. On this occasion as well, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Malik Mohammad Qasim and Asghar Khan, who participated in the conference, opposed the determination of provincial autonomy according to the 1940 and 1946 agreements, on the grounds that, since the MRD is itself demanding the restoration of the 1973 constitution in which the issue of provincial autonomy had been decided, creating a controversy around this issue again would not be beneficial to the country.

We regard their attitude as both wise and moderate. Raising old issues that have already been decided at this time when the country is facing serious problems will only intensify the crisis. Perhaps this is what some individuals really want. Now that, without any help from the MRD and in spite of differences, the country has started upon the road to the restoration of democracy, the politicians who missed their chance have no great divisive issue left to exploit to create agitation among the people.

An effort is thus being made to revive the issue of provincial autonomy and attract the sympathy of the inhabitants of the small provinces. Threats of disturbances and bloodshed are being made under cover of the issue of provincial autonomy. After the 4-day conference, Mir Qaus Baksh Bazanjo, the MRD conference convener, said that if the federal entities were not given the autonomy they wanted, the situation would get out of control over the next 3 months, and instead of provincial autonomy, the people would demand freedom. If shooting should begin, then the consequences would be extremely dangerous.

The question is, whose interests will be served by changing the issue into one of total freedom for the provinces and creating a situation in which shots would be fired? Who are the people who want to bring about such conditions? The people of Pakistan, whether they reside in Sind, the Northwest Frontier Province or Baluchistan, do not want to separate completely from the country: nor is this possible geographically. The people do not want separation. The average citizen is not concerned with who is responsible for defense and who for currency and communications. The problems facing not just the inhabitants of one province but those of all parts of the country concern employment, law and order, justice, etc. Only a handful of individuals are trying to use the people and create dissension among the provinces in order to serve their own interests. Inhabitants of all the provinces face similar problems; even residents of a large province such as Punjab do not find the roads paved with gold and rivers full of milk. The peasants of Punjab are as poor as those of Sind or Baluchistan. Just as in Sind the large landowners, in Baluchistan the sardars and in the Northwest Frontier Province the khans possess all the wealth, in Punjab also the landowners have accumulated all the wealth. The class which exploits the people exists not only in Punjab but in every province and every city. Opposition to this class does not consist in the inhabitants of three provinces separating themselves from the fourth and leaving its people to be ground under the heel of exploiters: neither should the dismemberment of parts of our body be proposed. As Asghar Khan, one of the leaders of the MRD has said, exploitation is a countrywide phenomenon and not confined to one province alone. Thus, the inhabitants of all four provinces should unite in their struggle it was not right to divide the efforts of the people into different classes.

The resolutions passed at the end of the long MRD conference which were presented by Ghaus Baksh Bazanjo at his press conference show ambiguity and cross purposes. He raised the question of amending the 1973 constitution concerning provincial autonomy, while in another resolution he stressed the restoration of the entire '73 constitution. If the 1973 constitution is to be restored in its entirety, then it makes no sense to suggest amendments to it. Describing the issue as of the utmost gravity, Mr. Bazanjo cited East Pakistan as an example. But East Pakistan was thousands of miles away; moreover, there were some politicians there as well who achieved their private aims by exploiting the sense of deprivation. As one of the leaders of the MRD said, the people of Bangladesh gained nothing. Can anyone who is well acquainted with the condition of Bangladesh assert that the people of

East Pakistan are more prosperous today and enjoy more civil rights compared to the past? Are not the people there receiving the same treatment as the people of Pakistan today or the people of the former united Pakistan?

Wali Khan, one of the leaders of the MRD, has even said in this connection that if East Pakistan, at a distance of thousands of miles, could become a part of West Pakistan, then why could not the Northwest Frontier Province become a part of another country? His statement illustrates his particular mentality. Recently, speaking to a gathering of the Pakistan Students' Union in Karachi, he used the terms Pakhtun and Pakistani to indicate that the Pakhtun were a different nationality from the Pakistanis.

A few individuals like Wali Khan are talking of confederation and sowing the seeds of dissension among the provinces. Some of these individuals have established a "Sindhi, Pushtun, Baluch Front" in London and have proved that these so-called leaders are not interested at all in Pakistan's integrity, unity and singleness of purpose. The irony is that the individuals who have formed this front in London belong to a party which claims to have nation-wide membership including many Punjabis. Moreover, this party is considered to be the MRD's moving spirit. By establishing this front, this party's leaders who reside in London have proved that they neither trust the people of Punjab nor do they consider them patriotic. But we do not want to say anything concerning this problem because Asghar Khan, one of the leaders of the MRD, has himself said that the slogan of confederation raised by the Sindhi, Baluch, Pashtun Front is a phony one and that, when those who have set up this front return home, they would be dealt with suitably. We will only say this in conclusion, that the sole result of the much-touted MRD meeting was to reveal the muddled thinking of the MRD leaders. If they cannot agree among themselves, how can they be expected to unite the people?

9863

CSO: 4656/127

PAKISTAN

PLEA FOR END TO SECTARIANISM ON FOUNDER'S EXAMPLE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Apr 85 p 11

[Article by Prof Mohammad Salim in the column "Fifth Column": "Qaid-I-Azam Was Neither Shia nor Sunni"]

[Text] A division of the Sind high court comprising Chief Justice Mr Abdul Hayee Koraishi and Mr Justice Abdur Razzaq, after hearing an appeal in a lawsuit, gave the judgment that Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah was neither a Sunni nor a Shia, but a staunch Muslim whose ideal was the Prophet of Islam.

This verdict of the Sind high court has come as a breath of fresh air in the poisoned sectarian atmosphere of the country. We expected the press to take note of the high court decision. We wish the newspapers had tried to persuade the government to make its policies in accordance with the ideals of Mr Jinnah and Allama Iqbal. But the newspapers are too busy writing about the powers of the newly-elected assemblies and making guesses about the formation of ministries to attend to such intellectual matters.

The division bench of the Sind high court has given the verdict, after studying the Qaid's speeches and statements made on different occasions and after listening to the statements of those who knew him personally, that he did not belong to any of the religious sects in the country. He was very cautious not to let any of his words and deeds smack of sectarianism. When he became the first governor of Pakistan, members of a certain sect in the country asked him to preside over the opening ceremony of a large orphanage they had built, but he refused to attend the ceremony because the orphanage was meant only for the benefit of that particular sect. It was only when the manager of the orphanage had declared that it would be open for all Muslims that the Qaid consented to go there. Had the leaders who came after him followed his example, the country would not be facing today's sectarian feuds.

The Sind high court referred to the famous incident in Meerut when people in a meeting insisted that the Qaid specify whether he was a Shia or a Sunni before making a speech. The Qaid is reported to have asked them whether the Prophet was a Shia or a Sunni. The people were surprised to hear the question and said that the Prophet could not have been either, since both these sects came into being after his time. The Qaid retorted that he was a follower of the Prophet and followed only his ideals.

It is a fact that the Qaid could not have created Pakistan if he had not been a-Muslim-and-a-Muslim-only. He was able to collect all Muslims under one banner and lead them to victory because he was above sectarianism. Had this policy been continued after him, a renaissance of Islam would have started in Pakistan. But power-mad politicians and military rulers did not pay any attention to the fundamental need of making the nation one religious entity.

In fact, sectarianism is as harmful to the country as provincialism or regionalism. The intelligentsia of Pakistan are all against sects and want to live only as Muslims, but ironically it is harder to live here as a Muslim than as the member of a sect. Recently, when all government employees had to present affidavits to show their faith in the Finality of Mohammad's Prophethood, the forms that they had to fill out had a section labeled "sect." As if to say that a person cannot be a Muslim without belonging to a sect. When Pakistan was created, Islam was one subject, but now there are separate religious books for Shias and Sunnis. Now they are demanding separate rules for endorsement for each sect.

Recently I came across the statement of a religious leader who boasted that he never shook hands with a man of the "wrong sect" and if he does so by mistake he washes his hand afterwards. He further said that he did not answer the greetings of a man of the "wrong sect." By this, of course, he meant anybody that did not belong to his own sect. The poison of sectarianism is becoming universal and nothing is being done against it on government or social levels. Nobody is preaching Islam. Instead, Muslims are being called infidels, and sectarian prejudice is being injected in the name of religious education. Even those who go to preach Islam in western countries only mislead innocent Muslims in those countries and cause their mosques to be closed.

As we said before it was the duty of the government to unite the Muslims of Pakistan, but unluckily the country was in the grip of other problems so that such fundamental principles were forgotten. We should have followed the ideals set up for us by the Qaid and Allama Iqbal. But sectarianism was started for vested interests, and that opened the door for the anti-national elements to play havoc with the unity of the country. Whenever Moharram or Eid-e-Milad come, the administration is panicked for fear of possible riots, while these two festivals should be occasions for a show of unity between Shias and Sunnis.

It would have been better if Islamization had been accompanied by a freedom from sectarianism. Then there would have been no demand for a separate jurisprudence for Hanafis and Jafiris. There would have been no "Sunni force" nor any need for "Amamia force." It is not yet too late. The government should appoint a commission of broad-minded religious leaders, but they should be, like Qaid-I-Azam, Muslims and only Muslims. The leaders and rulers who rid Pakistan of sectarianism will achieve honor and everlasting glory.



JPRS-NEA-85-086  
28 June 1985

## CALL FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION ON BRIBERY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Apr 85 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] While addressing a reception at Peshawar, the prime minister, Mr Mohammad Khan Juneju, referred to the bribery and corruption rampant in the country. He said that if everybody in the country were to cooperate, the government would succeed in eradicating this curse. He is right in calling it an all-pervading curse, but we wonder if making it everybody's responsibility will help in eradicating it. It is the duty of those who are at the helm to use their power to destroy this evil.

Similar ideas were expressed by Khan Iqbal Ahmad Khan, the federal minister for justice and parliamentary affairs, when he said that the government is preparing a program to fight the evil of bribery and that any suggestions from the public would be welcome. Every government in the past has similarly side-stepped the issue by saying that it can only be done with public cooperation. If the public is responsible for fighting against such evils, what is the duty of the departments for the eradication of corruption and bribery? Why are these departments not doing their job?

The president says that the country has become a basket of bad eggs. The prime minister says that the country is in the grip of the worst sort of corruption these days. Is their duty finished after making these statements? Even the helpless common people could have made these remarks. The prime minister talks about the curse of bribery in every speech he makes. He even said "How can those who earn 15 Lakh rupees after giving 5,000 in bribery help in eradicating this curse?" If he knows about it, why does he not bring at least one such evil-doer to justice every week? In no other way can the country be rid of this prevalent evil.

Sarfrax Nawaz, a member of the Punjab Assembly has referred to a form of corruption experienced by everybody. He says that he wanted to help the son of a voter to get a good job, and discovered that every good post has a fixed price. To be a police supervisor or a collector in the Finance Department costs one Lakh rupees. The price of the post of inspector in the Food Department is 80,000 rupees. These are solid facts. If he (Mr Sarfraz Nawaz) were appointed to make investigations, many evil-doers could be brought to book. All that is needed is courageous action on the part of those who are at the helm. Mere denunciation of corruption or asking the public to cooperate will not get us anywhere.